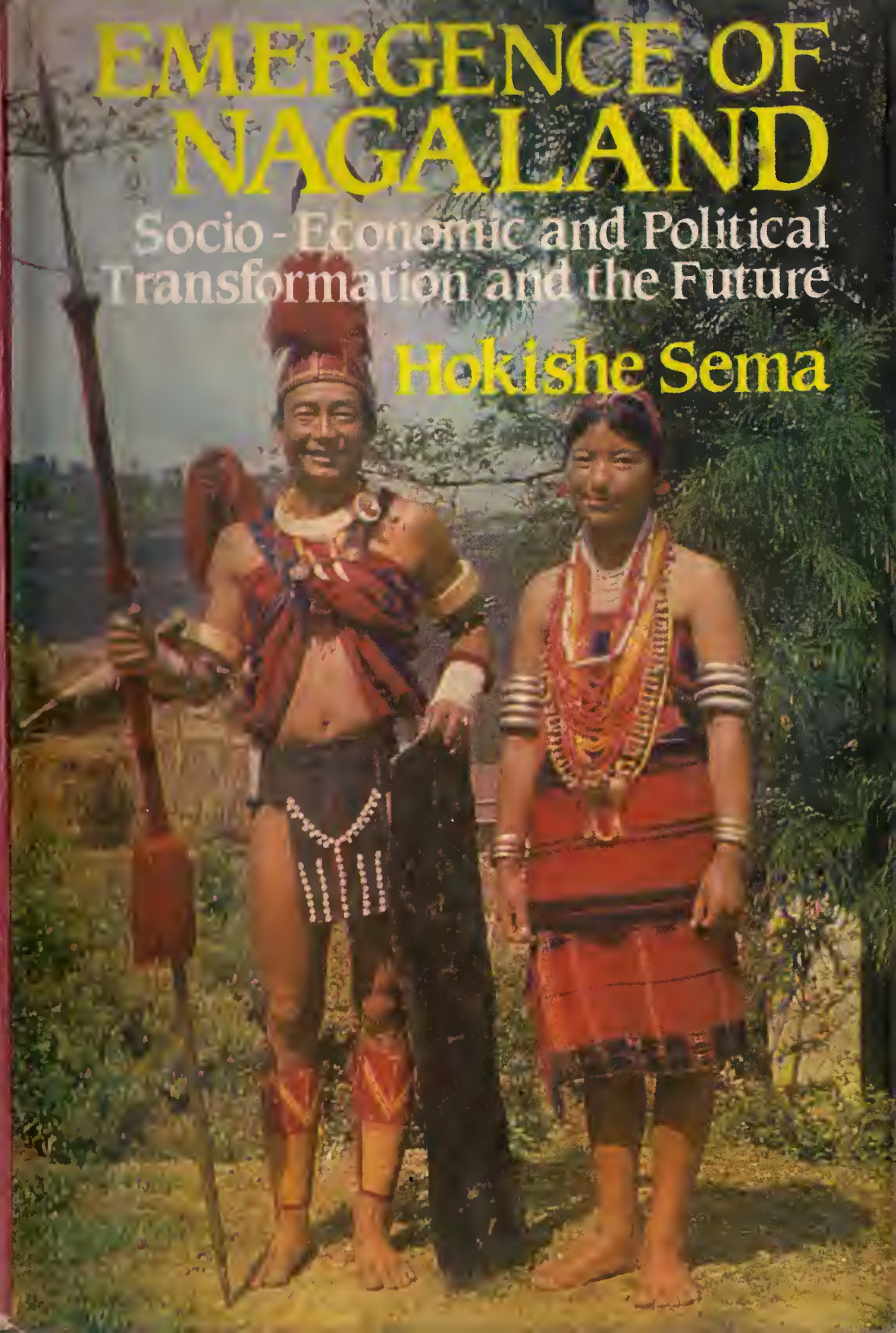


EMERGENCE OF NAGALAND

Socio - Economic and Political
Transformation and the Future

Hokishe Sema



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Transformation and the Future

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VIKAS PUBLISHING HOUSE PVT LTD

A fascinating account of the origin of Nagas, their chivalrous disposition, social customs, and their faith rooted in animism. In this land of mystery, the ambitious British and the ambivalent missionaries made inroads during the early nineteenth century. In the skirmishes that followed, the Nagas could not withstand the weeping tide of the British imperialism and had to embrace Christianity.

During the Second World War some of the young Nagas scooped a stockpile of arms and ammunition left in the thick jungles and when the War was over, they raised the slogan of an independent Nagaland under the leadership of Phizo.

During this period the common man's agony was indescribable.

Mr Hokishe Sema narrates the inside story of the underground movement, reveals the concern of Pt Jawaharlal Nehru and Smt Indira Gandhi for the Nagas and upholds the democratic traditions for the peace and progress of Nagaland.

Rs. 250



HOKISHE SEMA is presently the Governor of Himachal Pradesh. He entered politics in 1961 when Nagaland was a disturbed territory. Inspired by sublime and sub-nationalism he persuaded thousands of underground Naga rebels to surrender and regroup as members of disciplined security forces of the country.

He held several senior positions in the Government of Nagaland from 1961 to 1969. He was the Chief Minister of the State of Nagaland from 1969 to 1974. During this period he valiantly worked for establishment of peace in Naga rebel-affected area. This task involved even personal hazards to him for he was ambushed seven times by the underground Nagas.

At the national level, Mr Sema was a member of High Power Panel on Minorities, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Besides being a member of the Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Government of India, Mr Sema also represented the country in international forums on various occasions.

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FOREWORD

Most of the people of India are generally very ignorant of the peoples and problems of the North-Eastern part of our country. The reason for this is partly its geographic isolation, but an important cause is that the tribal areas of that region, which now embrace three States and two Union Territories, were, as a matter of policy, deliberately kept in isolation from the rest of India by the British Government. It is high time that we got to know these tribal areas and the sterling qualities of their magnificent people.

Mr Hokushe Sema has performed a valuable public service by writing this book—the product of much research—giving us the social and cultural background of the Naga people and tracing their development from the earliest times to the present day when, Nagaland as a full-fledged State of the Indian Union, stands shoulder to shoulder and on equal terms with the rest of the country. Though quite a few books have, over the past few years, been written on Nagaland, no author has been better placed to give us so all-embracing, comprehensive and objective an account of that State. Having lived through the recent history of Nagaland and being one of its makers he can speak with authority.

During the many years I was privileged to serve the people of Nagaland along with him, when I was Governor and he was Chief Minister, I learnt to appreciate his unmatched courage—he mentions only one of the many ambushes from which he providentially escaped—the nobility of his character and his unwavering devotion to Indian nationalism which in no whit detracted from his loyalty to the interests of his own people. His own contribution to bringing his people into the mainstream of

hood for Nagaland. These lively debates form part of the annexure. The boundary claims of the Assam and Nagaland also form a part of the annexures. Mr B.K. Nehru, Governor of Gujarat and former Governor of Nagaland, has very graciously contributed a highly inspiring and illuminating foreword. All these documents have greatly enriched this book and I am sure it would add to its value and appeal.

*Raj Bhavan
Shimla*

HOKISHE SEMA

PREFACE

Sitting in the lap of serene and tranquil cedar groves of Shimla, my mind wanders towards the rough and tumble of Naga tribes and sub-tribes who are living in the North-Eastern corner of our country. A journey from their heterogeneous character, starting from the days of their grotesque existence to the present day status of a full-fledged State of Nagaland, is saga of innumerable efforts, tribulations and sacrifices. The craze of the British tea-planters to slice-off several pockets of land brought them face to face with Nagas, who were living in the deep and impregnable woods. In due course of time, the Christian Missionaries hoisted the cross over their totems. Christianity was embraced by all in preference to their bizarre customs and head-hunting. The change in religion was not much lamented but for the loss of finer aspects of their culture. Thrown into the turmoil of the partitions of the country and subsequent transfer of power from Britain to India, some of the Nagas preferred to take up arms and went underground. Many peace efforts followed and as a result some of them laid down their arms while many others are still living the life of an adventure.

Some of the Naga Statesmen, who took up the cause of shaping the destiny of Nagaland and in order to bring it into the National mainstream and to transform the economy and well-being of the people of Nagaland, succeeded in their mission.

This book is an effort to trace out the origins of Nagas, their contact with the British, the Missionaries and the political, social and economic transformation of Nagaland and the future of Nagas. This book cannot claim to have an all-pervasive account of all the events that took place,

though I am certain that some of my friends and colleagues who played much more important role in the re-structuring and re-construction of Nagaland will venture to write better account on their experiences which will be a good guide to the future generations.

I have devoted a chapter on Naga Sub-Nationalism. I feel that for some years to come, this question will engage the minds of the elite sections of the Naga society as well as the leadership of Union of India. I have done it with the sincere hope of clearing doubts and misunderstanding that may exist today in Nagaland and especially in the minds of those, who uphold the principles of regionalism. I have not hesitated to point out what seemed to me was right and genuine and I trust that the important personalities about whom I have mentioned in this book will receive them in a friendly spirit and not as a criticism. I am sure, this book will be properly understood within its framework by the young and old and by the citizens, Statesmen, Administrators, thinkers and writers of Nagas and the Nagaland alike.

*Raj Bhavan
Shimla*

HOKISHE SEMA

We are welcome to our way of living, but why impose it on others? This applies equally to national and international fields. In fact, there would be more peace in the world if people were to desist from imposing their way of living on other people and countries. I am not at all sure which is the better way of living, the tribal or our own. In some respects I am quite certain theirs is better. Therefore, it is grossly presumptuous on our part to approach them with an air of superiority, to tell them how to behave or what to do and what not to do. There is no point in trying to make them a second rate copy of ourselves.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Chapter 1

THE ORIGIN, EARLY HISTORY AND SOCIAL LIFE OF THE NAGAS

HABITAT

The complex and almost inaccessible mountain tracts on the borders of India and Burma are the natural habitat of some of the most fascinating tribal people of India. They are the Garos, the Khasis, the Mizos, the Kacharis, the Mikirs, and the Nagas. In most of these tribes, there are some glimpses of their origin and early life. The Garos are a Tibetan race while the Khasis are Mongoloids with connections with the Thais and the Cambodians. The Mizos derive their identity from their neighbours, the Chins of Burma, and the Kacharis come from the great Koch race which once ruled the plains of North Bengal and Assam.

NAGAS

However, when we come to the tribes inhabiting the hills between Upper Assam and Northern Burma (along the Patkai hills both southwest and northeast) we face a certain difficulty regarding their early history. There is an aura of mystery and obscurity which surrounds the origin and other details of their early life. These tribes, though called the 'Nagas', even defy a common nomenclature. This is because there are no composite 'Naga' people, and among them there are many distinct tribes having more than thirty dialects, with almost every tribe constituting a separate language group. Moreover, their cultural and social setup varies vastly from tribe to tribe. Even their physique and appearance

differ from group to group and place to place. The nomenclature, 'Naga', is given to these tribes by the outsiders. In fact, for long, this appellation of 'Naga' was resented to by these people, till political expediency caused it to be accepted as describing the separate identity of these people as distinct from other ethnic tribal people and also from the people in the country at large. Here it may be added that the term 'Naga' was given to these people even before they migrated from Burma. Hence, this name does not derive from the place—Nagaland—where they live, as is the case with some of the states of India. On the other hand, their habitation gets the name from their common nomenclature. The different tribes, which now constitute the Naga people, are rigidly distinct from one another. In many cases these tribes existed in complete isolation. Their contact with one another was restricted to head-hunting and frequent warfare. These tribes have their own names, which very often give clue to their history. The 'Ao' tribe has the name Aor. The 'Aor' has its own history. This word has come to be ascribed to the present tribe through a particular incident associated with this tribe. As the story goes, the population of the Chungliyimti village, after a long period of settlement, grew so big that some of them had to search for new places of settlement. Consequently, many of them crossed the river Dikhu after constructing a cane bridge over it. However, after a sufficient number had crossed over, and also, with a view to prevent large-scale migration, they broke down the cane bridge. Those who had crossed the Dikhu river were then called Aor, which means 'going' or 'gone'.

In the same way, the Angamis have their name as *Tenyimi*. The Semas call themselves *Sumi*. The Lothas are named as *Kyon*. All the other tribes, whether in Burma, Arunachal, Manipur, Assam, or Nagaland, have their own distinct names. The two important tribes in Manipur are the *Tangkhuks* and the *Maos*. In Tirap of Arunachal Pradesh, they are the *Tangsas*, *Wanchos* and the *Noctes*. In Burma there are the *Keimungan*, *Tikhir*, *Chirr*, *Mokaware*, etc.

Some of these tribes have combined together and have taken a new name, as in the case of the tribe *Zeliang-Rong* which is the combination of *Zemi*, *Liangmai* and *Rongmai* tribes living in a compact area. Similarly, *Chakhesang* is a recent composition of three tribes, namely *Chakru*, *Kheza* and *Sangtam*. Thus we can see that there is quite a rigid compartmentalisation between the numerous communities inhabiting these hills and to ascribe a common appellation to these distinctive tribes is in fact a misnomer.

The origin of the word 'Naga' has been a source of much debate among different scholars. The two largely accepted viewpoints are taken from the etymology of the word 'Naga' and its varying connotations in the Burmese and the Assamese languages. In Burma, the Naga tribes are called *Na Ka*, which, in Burmese means people or men or folk with pierced ear-lobes. Piercing of the ear-lobes is a widespread practice among the Naga tribes. In fact, the piercing ceremony forms a very important initiation rite for young boys who are about to enter the manhood. When a group of boys attain the age of eight to twelve years, the elders of the village, in consultation with the village priest, fix an auspicious day for the ear-piercing ceremony. A big male pig is generally slaughtered by the Village Chief and its meat is distributed among the young initiates. Then, their ear-lobes are pierced with sharp bamboo sticks which have cotton at one end. This piercing is done by the warriors of the village. This ceremony marks the attainment of manhood by these boys. They are now fit to wear white cotton in their ears and join in the war-dances performed on various festivals in the social life of the village. Most of the Naga tribes migrated to India from Burma, therefore the name Naka or Naga was given to them even before they reached India. Moreover, it was from the Burmese that the British first came to know about the Nagas soon after their earliest wars with Burma during 1795-1826.

Another theory of the origin of the word Naga is subscribed to the Assamese people. The Assamese are the

immediate neighbours of the Nagas and the Assamese were also the first people to come in contact with the Nagas. In Assamese, the word *Noga* means 'naked'. The word *Noga*, which is a part of the Assamese working vocabulary, is even used today for the Nagas. Throughout Assamese literature we can find the use of this word. In the historical records of Assam, called the *Baranjis*, the word *Noga* is used for the primitive man living in his natural surroundings in an uncorrupted form. Thus, originally the word *Noga* was used for the naked people of the hills who often came in contact with the people of plains in Assam. Gradually, this name was applied to a greater number of people and ultimately it became a generic term for many tribes. Now the name *Naga* is accepted by all the tribes and the word *Naga* is suffixed to every name of the tribals inhabiting Nagaland, Assam, Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh and Burma. The term *Naga* came to signify the separate identity of these people.

ORIGIN

The places of origin of the various Naga tribes remain an unsolved mystery till today. The fact that many of these tribes have been wandering races, moving from place to place over the span of centuries, has not helped in tracing out their origins. Different scholars, basing their surmises on the Naga art, material culture, language tonals, etc., have theorised that the Nagas have had some links with Indonesia and Malaysia; they belong to the Tibeto-Burman family; are the first stage migration groups from North-West China; they constitute a return group of migrants from the Polynesian islands, etc. However, these theories are remotely inferential theories and in the absence of substantive evidence these theories remain inconclusive.

MIGRATION

However, there is some information on the migration routes

followed by the Nagas. Based on this information, it is now certain that the Naga tribes now living in Nagaland, Assam, Arunachal Pradesh and Manipur have migrated to these places through Burma. Some of them also settled down in Burma and did not venture further. These Naga tribes did not migrate at the same time but their movement over Burma and into India was spread over a period of time. It is most likely that they entered their present habitat in waves following one another and in some cases in close succession. The above view is substantiated by the present location of tribes like the Konyaks, Phoms, Changs, Sangtams, Kheimungans, Yimchungers, and especially that of the Konyaks and the Kheimungans. These tribes are still living in places in Burma which are adjacent to Nagaland. Other tribes, like the Ao, Lotha, Sema, Rengma, Angami, and the Chakhesang came through the South-East via the East and the North of Manipur and then to Khezakenoma. Khezakenoma appears to be an important place in the migration route of these tribes. All these tribes have references to their having emerged from the magic blessed stone of Khezakenoma. Perhaps they may even have lived here for many years before moving on. Khezakenoma is a border village of Chakhesang near Manipur. According to a legend, the Aos went first and were followed by the Lothas and the Semas. After them came the Rengmas, the Angamis and the Chakhesangs. Even the present locations of these tribes are in that order.

LEGENDS

Here it may be interesting to note that the Semas call the Aos, *Cholimi*, which means 'those who preceded', and the Angamis are called *Tsungumi*, which means 'those who came after'. This Sema nomenclature for other tribes corroborates the order of migration. Further evidence is available in the present Sema and Lotha areas where there are some villages which have got Ao names. The Aos say

that these villages were occupied by the Semas and the Lothas after they had vacated them in their movement northwards. On the other hand, the Semas and the Lothas claim that they captured these villages from the Aos and thus forced the Aos to move on. Dr J.H. Hutton, in his monograph on the Semas mentioned that the last Ao village, Longsa, was about to move because of the constant Sema attacks but the arrival of the British forces at Wokha checked the Sema pressure.

The Aos maintained that they originated from Longtrok and do not refer to having emerged from Khezakenoma. The other tribes also say that the Aos were ahead of them and do not mention them in connection with Khezakenoma. Whether or not the Aos originated from Longtrok, one thing is clear that they were the first to settle in this land. It also appears that though the Aos migrated through the same route followed by the others, yet they did not live in Khezakenoma like the others. The Aos must have gone ahead and lived at the Chungliyimti village for a considerable time. It is in this village that Longtrok is found like the historical stone at Khezakenoma. Longtrok means 'six stones'.

The Semas migrated from Khezakenoma to Swemi and Cheswezumi villages in two directions and then to Hebolimi and Ighanumi. The Semas called Cheswezumi as Chisho village. From Ighanumi and Hebolimi they moved to many other places in the Zunheboto district, which constitutes the present Sema area.

The Konyak and the Kheimungan tribes, even today inhabit the Naga areas of Burma and India. The legends and traditional tales associated with tribes like the Sangtam and Yimchunger indicate that they have come from the East. A Yimchunger legend tells about the emergence of its people from a cave situated in a place called Kamaphu near the Waphur village. This place is south of Shamatore, and thus is quite near the Burma border. According to the legend, they emerged from this cave in large numbers. When a

sufficient number had come out, and to prevent over-population, they closed the cave with a huge stone. This story probably suggests that they passed through a narrow pass. The Yimchungers stayed in Kamaphu for some time and later went to the Yimchung village and lived there for a considerable period of time. Then it was from this place that they gradually spread to other places. The Yimchungers claim that the boundary of their area spreads from Mount Saramati in the East to Helipong in the West. If this claim of Mount Saramati is considered vis-a-vis their migration, then it can reasonably be said that they came from the East, that is from Burma, since Saramati is on the Indo-Burma border. Thus, all considered, it is most likely that the tribes mentioned above, as well as some living in the Tuensang district, migrated from Burma to their present habitat.

SECLUSION

The stories prevalent among the different tribes about their origins, like the story of the Khezakenoma stone of the Longtrok, the Changsang of Chang; Mongko of Sangtam; the Kamaphu cave of Yimchunger etc are merely legends handed down from generations. These are a part of the myth and the folklore of the Nagas and certainly cannot be taken as factual history. However these myths and legends do give a hint of the conditions of isolation and obscurity in which these tribes lived. The two sides of the six hundred mile International Boundary between India and Burma, where the Nagas live, are covered with thick, difficult and virgin forests. Many of these places have not seen the light of modern development till today. Here, in the parallel hills, deep gorges, dense forests and covered valleys, the Naga tribes lived in complete obscurity and isolation. Their folk tales tell about strange and wild animals like the apes and the gorillas, about poisonous weeds and deadly snakes. Thus, all these conditions combined together to make communications and contacts with the outside world virtual-

ly impossible. It is, therefore, no wonder that the atmosphere in which these tribes lived was surcharged with superstitions, myths and legends. Life under such impregnable conditions also limited the mental horizon of its inhabitants. This also accounts for the obscurity and mystery which surrounds their early history and the stages of their migration. However, from the study of their traditional stories and legends, it can be seen that they have migrated from far off distances in the East, traversing through rocky hills, narrow passes, and dark caves, and finally, moving through Burma, they came into India.

VALOUR

The rigid physical isolation and seclusion in which the different Naga tribes lived was not only a result of the peculiar circumstances in which these tribes found themselves, but was also self-induced and deliberately chosen. The tribes were largely confined to their own villages which were perched on the saddles of selected hills, overlooking their fields and granaries. To protect the villages from unwanted intrusion and encroachment, they were built like forts and protected by poisoned spikes. Youth camps, in a constant state of preparedness, were always ready to respond to any call for the defence of their village. Such a jealous protection of their seclusion served to protect their identity and mode of life from outside interference and influence.

Such a staunch and militant desire for a sequestered life often led to internecine wars between tribes over their claims for paddy fields, water and land. For the protection of their distinct entity and for sheer survival, every tribe had to have skilled warriors who were known for their valour. My village, Shichimi, was once reputed to be a warrior village. There were many warrior names, like Chowokha who defended and conquered the attacking enemy, the Chuwomi, meaning Lothas. Other warrior names among the Semas

were Arkha, Hocheli, Sukhalu, Satakha, Tuzukha and Yesukha, all indicating that they could check the enemy villages, even though these villages also belonged to the same tribe. This inter-tribe rivalry was further inflamed due to the popular custom of head-hunting. Head-hunting was the proud activity of most of the tribes. The more enemy heads a man brought to the village, the higher was his social status in the village. A village having more of such warriors commanded respect and honour. The ritual of head-hunting rested on the belief that it contributed to the fertility of their womenfolk and the prosperity of their fields. Head-hunting was not confined only to one tribe against the other, but was carried out even within the same tribe. The Angamis of the Western area belonging to Khonoma used to raid the Kohima village, another stronghold of the Angamis. However, within every tribe, the life of every member was considered to be very sacred.

AHOM KINGS

In the absence of any proper and settled administration in the border villages, the principle of 'might is right' ruled supreme. At times, the Nagas found it profitable to use their fighting skills for the loot and plunder. Generally, while the men and the women worked in the fields, a number of trained young men kept watch over their territory. Other young men received training in the use of spears, daos, bows and arrows, which were the main weapons in the Naga armoury.

Thus, there were perpetual and never-ending wars between the tribes. Outsiders who tried to intrude into these areas also met with stiff resistance. Copious references of such clashes are found in the chronicles left by the Ahom kings. These clashes took place from the 12th and the 13th centuries to the end of the Ahom rule in the 17th century.

For centuries the Assam valley had been an easy hunting ground for adventurers, cattle graziers, aspiring princes and

intriguing nobility. There are many instances of rulers being killed by treachery. Before the Ahoms invaded Assam, complete anarchy prevailed over this area. The Ahoms crossed the Patkoi ranges and overran the Manipur valley. Here they found the valley inhabited by docile people. Therefore they settled there. They stayed there for over four centuries.

During their march to conquest, these alien rulers faced stiff resistance from the Naga tribes. The Ahom chronicles reveal that their King Sukhafa had to sacrifice a lot to keep the Nagas confined to their hilly abodes. However, there is no record of any arrangement or situation which was derogatory to the honour and prestige of the Nagas. The stories handed down by the forefathers to the Naga elders relate that whenever any intruder tried to enter the hills, he was rudely repulsed. These folktales bear ample testimony to the eight centuries of Naga struggle.

VILLAGE COUNCILS

For a Naga youth, his village was his entire world. Here all his life's requirements were met. His schooling was done at the Morung (youth club) by his elders. His marriage partner was found from the neighbourhood. Later, he was engaged in production or in the defence of his village. The choice of work was made for him by the village council. This village council ordained the entire life of the village. The collective life took precedence over the individual life. A Naga's obligation and loyalty was to his family and village and this required a total submission to the village community. The village community looked after the individual needs which were common to the entire community and for the satisfaction of such needs, the entire village was responsible.

Land was generally owned by clans and not by the individuals. Each year the head of the clan decided how to allot land to different families for agricultural purposes. In the entire system there was no place for any jealousy.

Mutual recrimination could not sour relationships or create bitterness. Friendship and camaraderie were essential for life because the fear of an enemy attack always loomed large. The history of a village was enshrined in custom and tradition through the celebration of feasts in the honour of heroes, through heart-warming songs about the valour of the brave, and through the fine cloth woven by the women for the noble.

The Naga villages even today are divided into 'khels' which are inhabited by a unified and coherent sub-tribe or clan. This clan is a distinct family belonging to a common ancestor. The houses consist of thatched roofs, forty to fifty feet in length, and supported by strong bamboo or wood poles about twenty feet in height. The facade is decorated with the trophies of war and the animal heads killed by the inhabitant. The front poles of the hut cross each other and thereby provide holes for the passage of the strong March winds. The whole structure, though looking fragile and weak, is really solid and strong. It is built to withstand the frequent gales and storms which occur in this area.

The style of a house and its decoration denote the social position of the family. The type of construction and the fashion of the houses vary from tribe to tribe. Every house is divided into two parts. The front room is used for accommodating domestic animals like cows, pigs, and chicken. The other portion is meant for the family use including the kitchen and the bedroom. Guests are always welcome in this house. A fire burns here day and night. Split bamboo sheets are hung over this fire which are used for preserving meat and paddy etc. The smoke provides natural preservation to the food article.

When a child is born in a home, only the close relatives are allowed to come in. The naming ceremony is done on the sixth day for a male child and on the fifth day for a female child. The Nagas dispose of their dead through burial. The departed soul is remembered through feasts in its honour. In this manner the Nagas solicit the blessings of the spirits of

the dead. It is believed that these spirits oversee the working of their household.

DIALECTS

Today there are about twenty Naga tribes living in Burma, Manipur, Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, and the Nagaland. Each tribe has a separate dialect and often some tribes have two to three dialects. For example, the Aos have four dialects—Mongsen, Chungli, Changki and Merinokpu. The official language is Chungli and textbooks for various classes are written in this language. The North-East Hill University and the Nagaland Board of Secondary Education have accepted Chungli as the mother-tongue of the Aos. The Semas, Lothas, Angamis, Changs, etc., have one language each. Nagamese, which is a form of broken Assamese, is used by the tribes for communicating with each other. These days it is also common to find broken Hindi being used in Nagaland. The official language of the state of Nagaland is English, but it is only used by the educated Nagas. The Naga languages are still underdeveloped and cannot be used to express modern thought adequately, especially words having a scientific origin.

Chapter 2

NAGAS AND THE BRITISH

BRITISH IMPERIALISM

The beginning of 19th century initiated the process of change and transformation among the Nagas. This crucial period of changing circumstances, political alignments and social conditions was sweeping over the entire north-eastern part of the country. The Ahoms had lost their control over the Assam valley, opening the way for the Burmese imperialistic tendencies. The Burmese invaders marched through the Patkoi range to the Assam valley. Their growing boldness alarmed not only the local tribes inhabiting the area but also the British who had their own expansionist designs. Thus, the people of this area were caught between two imperialist forces eager to enlarge their sphere of influence. Some tribes, like the Singpho and Khampthi in Tirap and Lohit, helped the Burmese in establishing themselves on the eastern frontier. Others, like the Nocte, Wancho and Tangsa Nagas of Tirap assisted the British in order to combat the Burmese-Singpho aggression. In the Ao and the Konyak areas many Ahoms, including royal and noble families, obtained shelter and material help from them.

With the signing of the Yandabo Treaty on 24 February 1826, the war between the British and the Burmese came to an end and a new socio-political scene emerged in the area. The British also signed a separate treaty of reciprocal advantages with Raja Gambhir Singh of Manipur. Now the British presence in the area, which had begun with the coming in of the missionaries, became more prominent. It

acquired further impetus due to the fact that the warring chieftains often asked for British help in order to humiliate their opponents. As the British wanted to strengthen their sphere of influence over Assam, NEFA, Cachar and the adjoining areas, therefore they undertook an in-depth study of the people and the land in this region. They realised that for reasons of strategy and security they could not afford to ignore the intervening areas, whether populated by barbarous tribes, wild beasts, dense forests, or arid land. Thus, the Nagas were drawn into the British imperialistic designs.

For some time the British did not try to interfere in the life and working of the Naga tribes. They left them to Manipur and Cachar for subjugation. The British, on the other hand, concentrated on consolidating their position in Upper Assam, which they did by 1828. Their headquarters were first located at Rangpur and later shifted to Jorhat. The East India Company holdings in Upper Assam, particularly their tea gardens, were increasingly coming under Naga raids. These gardens and villages were easily accessible to the Nagas. Most of this land had belonged to the Nagas and now they were keen to extract a fee for its use. Further, the Manipur and the Cachar Rajas were unable to cope up with the Naga ferocity. Therefore, in order to safeguard their interest in this area, the British were forced to take an increasingly serious note of the activities of the Naga tribes. At first they signed a treaty of assistance with Raja Gambhir Singh in 1833. This treaty provided that:

In the event of anything happening on the eastern frontier of the British territories, the Raja will when required, assist the British Government with a portion of his troops.

This was accompanied by British attempts to survey the Naga hills. This work had started as early as 1832 when the first two British explorers, Capt. Jenkins and Capt. Pemberton entered the Naga hills. In fact, the attention of the British towards the Nagas was drawn with the sole purpose

of protecting their tea gardens. Dr M.C. Cosh speaks very eloquently about this: "There would be no need of driving tigers, leopards, elephants, etc., from their stronghold; instead, gardens of tea, coffee, oranges and lemons shall take the place of the now impenetrable jungles." Alongwith the British interest in the fertile sloping land which was so ideally suited for tea cultivation, they were also anxious to provide safeguards to their Burmese state. The British also wanted to avoid the entry of the Chinese into the trading fields of Burma and India.

Many ingenious arguments were advanced by the British for their attempts to annex the Naga territory. One such argument is found in the Assam District Gazetteer, when in 1906, B.C. Allen, an ICS officer wrote: "It should first be premised that for the annexation of their territory the Nagas are themselves responsible. The cost of the administration of the district is out of all proportion to the revenue that is obtained, and we only occupied the hills after a bitter experience, extending over many years, which clearly showed that annexation was the only way of preventing raids upon our villages. Had the Angami Nagas consented to respect our frontiers, they might have remained as independent as the tribes inhabiting the hills to the south of Sibsagar and Lakhimpur, but it was impossible for any civilized power to acquiesce in the perpetual harrying of its border folk." Allen, very conveniently, ignores the original sin when in 1832 the British and Manipur forces entered Naga territory without any permission or agreement.

SKIRMISHES

The first entry into Naga hills by Jenkins and Pemberton in 1832 was for two reasons. One was to find a suitable alternative route between Assam and Manipur, and the second was to try and subjugate the powerful Angami warriors. Accompanied by Raja Gambhir Singh, they set off from Silchar with a Manipuri levy and a strong posse of

armed soldiers and traversed the Zeliangrong hills. All along the route the Nagas created a lot of trouble for them. Khuzema, Viswema and Kohima harried the expedition and turned them away. The party had to face heavy resistance near Punglwa during their return. In retaliation to the Naga resistance, the Manipuris committed atrocities upon the southern Angami villages. This was one of the factors responsible for the intense Manipur-Angami feuds which continued till the formation of the Naga Hills District in 1866. However, the Jenkins and Pemberton exploration was a very bold bid across an inhospitable and difficult mountain terrain full of constant harassment from the war-like Nagas. This expedition, which was accompanied by an escort of 700 Manipuri sepoy, moved via Popolongmai and Samaguting to Mohandijua on the Jamuna river. It was with great difficulty and show of force that they could complete their journey.

The following year, that is in 1833, Gambhir Singh, accompanied by Lieutenant Gordon, marched through the hills by a little different route than the one followed by their two predecessors a year ago. The Nagas were strongly resentful of the intrusion into their territory by the British and the Manipur convoys. Therefore they constantly attacked such convoys. Around this time the Nagas were also constantly raiding the villages in North Cachar. The British called upon the Raja of Manipur and Tula Ram-Senapati to keep the Nagas under proper control. However, they were unable to do so and this requisition was withdrawn in 1837. Various efforts by the British to win over the Nagas through friendship offers, threats, blockades, and destruction, failed to subjugate them. The fact that the Nagas constituted numerous tribes, did not have a unified administration or a single language or a common land-mass, prevented them from being reduced to a state of vassalage. If the Angamis suffered, the Lothas, Aos, Sangtams, could escape. There was no centralised kingship or government whose fall or surrender could force the Nagas to capitulate. Every village

had to be subdued if supremacy was to be established and every tribe had to be fought if loyalty was to be won. The lack of unity and the absence of a single political system amongst the Nagas at that time proved to be advantageous in maintaining their independence.

In January 1839, E.R. Grange, Sub-Assistant to the Commissioner of Nowgong, was deputed to go into the Angami country. He was to investigate the causes of the frequent raids by the Angamis into Cachar and also to punish the Chiefs of the Nagas who carried out such raids. Because of a woeful lack of adequate transport arrangements, his expedition was not very successful. Grange and his men hurriedly marched through a small part of the Naga hills. Twelve months later, Grange led another expedition into the hills. He marched via Samaguting and Khonoma into Tokquama village and from there onwards onto Manipur. There was a great deal of opposition to his march. Grange succeeded in overcoming this opposition with the help of vigorous and often cautious actions. During the course of his operations, he burnt down five villages which opposed him and he also took eleven prisoners. These strong measures seemed to have had a salutary effect as there were no Naga raids during 1840.

The next British visitor into the Naga hills was E.R. Grange's successor, Lieutenant Bigge. Between November 1840 and January 1842 he conducted two expeditions into Naga territory. His expeditions met with more success than those of his predecessors. He received friendly treatment from the hill people and even the Angamis welcomed him cordially. During the second excursion Bigge arrived at an agreement with them. According to this agreement a boundary line was laid down between Manipur and the Angami Naga territory and an exchange of friendly visits was promised. Thus Bigge sought to bring about peace and understanding, and consequently for some time things were quite peaceful.

Circumstances however changed in 1843. No British

officer entered the hills but the Nagas raided the plains and killed four persons. The following year the Nagas marched into the Rengma hills and killed nine people. They also murdered three Shan scpoys in the North Cachar hills. In order to take punitive measures against this outrage, the British sent Captain Eld with a strong contingent of men into the hills. Captain Eld entered the hills in December 1844 and burnt several villages which were held guilty of the outrage. This included a large part of the powerful village Khonoma.

The following year Captain Butler, who had succeeded Captain Eld as Principal Assistant Commissioner at Nowgong, made a peaceful trip through the hills. Wherever he went he met with a friendly reception and received many gifts and presents. However, this friendly interchange did not stop the Naga raids on the plains. In 1846-47 another expedition was sent into the hills in order to see whether the establishment of an outpost amongst the Naga villages might serve as a deterrent to the Naga raids on the villages in the plains. Samaguting was selected as the right place for setting up of this outpost. A detachment of the Militia was permanently stationed there and the Post was entrusted to the charge of Bhogchand Daroga, a resolute and determined man. Earlier he had attracted the attention of the British by the courageous way he had extricated his small sepoy force when attacked by a vastly superior Naga force. This success had emboldened Bhogehand and made him unmindful of his personal safety as well as a little rash and indiscreet. He wanted to press his gains too fast and too far.

In 1849 Bhogchand visited Mezoma to enquire into a dispute which was in progress between Nihulie and Zievilie, two powerful men in that village. Bhogehand was accompanied by a very small, and far from reliable, force. However, as Sir Alexander Maekenzie says, he had firm belief in the prestige of the British constable. Bhogehand conducted the proceedings just as he would have done in the case of a riot on the plains. One of Zievilie's followers had been murdered

by Nihulie's men, and Bhogchand proceeded to arrest the culprits. Then, in a spirit of severe impartiality, he also seized seven Kaeharies who belonged to Zievilie's party. Bhogehand then left with his prisoners for Samaguting. Conduct of this kind was not calculated to please either side and the result was something which Bhogehand had not intended or anticipated. The feud between the two parties came to an end and they combined together to attack their common enemy, Bhogehand. When they attacked him at Pephema his guards dispersed in panic. Bhogehand and thirteen of his sepoy and porters were speared to death.

This outrage greatly incensed the British. In a frenzy for revenge, an expedition was despatched under Lieutenant Vincent to take retaliatory measures for the Daroga's death. His troops occupied Mezoma and Nihulie and his clan retired further into the hills. Meanwhile, when Lieutenant Campbell, who was in charge of the detachment, was visiting a neighbouring village, the enemy burnt down Mezoma and destroyed the British stores. The expedition was called off. In March 1850 Lieutenant Vincent re-entered the hills and took up his quarters at Mezoma. He remained there through the rains. Among the action that he took was the burning of the village of Jakhama and the establishment of an outpost of forty-six men at Khonoma. However, when two sepoy were killed close by the stockade, Vincent decided to concentrate all his force at Mezoma after burning down a portion of the Khonoma village. Things however were not very easy for Vincent and his men. The constant harassment of the British by the Khonoma youth frightened the British. Vincent was forced to give orders prohibiting sepoy from leaving stockade, even for drawing water, except in parties of twenty men, under a non-commissioned officer, with at least ten muskets.

The precarious position of Lieutenant Vincent necessitated the sending in of yet another expedition. In December 1850 the tenth expedition was sent into the hills. This expedition comprised a detachment of 384 men equipped

with all kinds of arms and having with them two three-pounder guns and two four-inch mortars. This force was despatched against the fort at Khonoma. The fort however was very strongly fortified and defended. Even though the guns were brought within seventy-five yards of the fort, they did not do any appreciable damage. The attempt to escalate the walls of the fort was foiled by the presence of a deep trench around the walls. Finally the force bivouacked before the village for the night. The next morning, however, they found that the village had been abandoned.

The troops then went on an exercise of demonstration through the hills. They burnt down several villages which opposed their progress or refused to give them supplies. When this force reached the village Kekrima, they found that the villagers refused to give in so meekly to them. Kekrima was said to contain 1,000 houses and was therefore very much feared. Kekrima sent two heralds to the British camp and solemnly challenged them to a trial of strength. The Manipuris, the heralds said, were afraid to meet them and they doubted whether the British were of a different temper. This challenge to the force as well as the slowly developing prestige of the British could not be ignored by the British. Moreover the British weapons were much superior to the arms of just spears and arrows that the villagers had. Thus, the British force of 150 sepoy armed with sophisticated fire-arms supported by about 800 Nagas armed with spears defeated Kekrima. The result of this unequal fight between modern weapons of destruction and poor arrows of defence was a foregone conclusion. The downfall and destruction of the Nagas was complete. Kekrima left at least 100 warriors dead on the hill side, while the British suffered a loss of just three dead, one of whom was a camp follower.

CHANGE IN BRITISH POLICY

This sacrifice by the Kekrima Nagas did not go in vain. The

British withdrew their troops from the hills and determined that in future they would abstain from all interference with the Nagas. The policy, as laid down by Lord Dalhousie, the then Governor-General, was: "Hereafter we should confine ourselves to our own ground; protect it as it can and must be protected; not meddle in the feuds or fights of these savages; encourage trade with them, as long as they are peaceful towards us; and rigidly exclude them from all communication, either to sell what they have got, or to buy what they want, if they should become turbulent or troublesome."

It was, however, one thing to say that there should be no dealings with the Nagas and another to prevent the Nagas from having any dealings with the neighbouring people. The protection of the long line of jungle-covered frontier proved to be impossible. In 1851, after the policy of non-intervention had been definitely adopted, no less than 22 Naga raids took place. In these raids 35 persons were killed, 10 wounded, and 133 taken captive. While only three of these raids can be positively traced to the Angamis, yet there are strong grounds for suspecting them for most or all of these depredations. Thus, while the policy of non-intervention was given a fair trial, it was impossible to resist the conclusion that it had proved unsuccessful. The local officers repeatedly urged the Government to take a more vigorous and strict line of action. In 1862 the Commissioner of Assam brought up the matter before the Lieutenant-Governor. He said that it was not creditable for the Government to be powerless in the face of Naga atrocities, to protect its subjects and punish the aggressors. The Commissioner, with typical administrative politeness, said that while the non-interference policy was excellent in theory yet the Government should think about giving it up in view of the practical implications. It is quite clear that British relations with the Nagas could not have been on a worse footing.

The views of the Commissioner did not fall on deaf ears. Sir Cecil Beadon, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal,

agreed with the views expressed by the Commissioner. He directed the officer stationed at Nowgong to get an immediate communication with the Nagas and to inform the Chiefs that the Government held them responsible for the good conduct of the villagers and that as long as they performed their job well, an annual stipend would be paid to them for this police work.

Again, while in theory it appeared to be a fine proposal, yet in practice, these orders appeared to have had little effect. More raids by the Nagas in March and April 1866 again brought the Naga question into prominence. The Lieutenant-Governor declined to fall back before 'these wild tribes' and to retreat from their neighbourhood whenever they happened to be provocative. Officers in charge of the North Cachar hills again advocated the policy of non-intervention because they despaired of ever being able to protect their frontier without pursuing a more vigorous policy from which they had been debarred by the Government. Sir Cecil Beadon now pointed out the disadvantages of this policy of non-interference. He said that if this policy was to be pursued then Assam would be divided amongst the Bhutias, Abors, Nagas, Garos, Mishmis, and the other wild tribes which surrounded it. Moreover, he said that this policy would be construed as a sign of weakness of the government and the tribes would take advantage of it. Further, this policy also threatened the safety of Manipur and opened a possible route for intrusion by Burmese rebels.

In view of this change in the British thinking, Colonel Hopkinson, the Commissioner, began a review of the existing position of the Nagas with regard to North Cachar in 1866. His findings and opinions are thus summarised by Sir Alexander Meckenzie:

He was not himself averse from taking a more direct control of the country. He, however, pointed out that the democratic nature of the tribal arrangements among the

Angamis, the infinite divisions and disputes existing even in a single village, rendered it impossible to hope for success from the policy of conciliation, *ab-extra*, proposed by the Government. He admitted that no system of frontier military defence that could be devised would secure perfect immunity from raids. A country void of roads, void of supplies, a country of interminable hills, of vast swamps covered with dense forest, save where here and there a speck in the ocean of wilderness reveals a miserable Mikir or Kachari clearance, could not possibly be defended at every point against a foe for whom hill and swamp and forest are resources rather than obstacles. From 1854 to 1865, there had been nineteen Angami raids in which 232 British subjects had been killed, wounded, or carried off. Ninety-two of these unfortunates had been so lost during the three years (1854-56), when a chain of outposts was in existence from Barpathar to Assaloo, connected by roads which were regularly patrolled. 'At most we should be able to keep the raids of such savages below a certain maximum, and prevent their extension to settled districts.' The settlement of a trade blockade, the Commissioner maintained, was advantageous, when it could be made practically complete, and so far as it was complete; but none of these schemes would secure the peace of the frontier. They had all been tried and found wanting. If Government were prepared to consider a more advanced policy he was ready to show how it could best be carried out. He would depute a specially-qualified officer to proceed with a force of not less than 200 men, and effect a permanent lodgement in the country, at a point most convenient for keeping open communications and procuring supplies. This officer would then invite the chiefs to submit themselves to us. Those who agreed would, as a token of submission, pay an annual tribute, and, in return, receive our aid and protection; while those who refused would be told that we would leave them to themselves, so long as they kept the peace towards us and those who submitted themselves to us.

As a result of all these discussions and observations the Government of India sanctioned the establishment of a strong post at Samaguting in 1866. This post was placed under the command of Lieutenant Gregory. He was allowed a police force of 150 hill men who were to be fully armed. His principal duty was to protect the plains from the intrusions of the Nagas. (This, of course, was a repetition of the main cause of British intervention in the hill areas, which had been repeated time and again.) While Gregory had been ordered not to exert himself to extend his rule into the interior of the hills, yet, of necessity, much was left to Gregory's discretion.

Lieutenant Gregory's work began almost immediately as in January 1866 the Nagas of Razephema mercilessly attacked a Mikir village in North Cachar. In March, Lieutenant Gregory visited Razephema and burnt down the village. Three months later the hill men retaliated by killing twenty-six Mikirs in the village of Sergamcha. During the following cold weather Lieutenant Gregory visited Razephema, burnt down the village, prohibited the people from reoccupying their old lands and fields, and distributed the land amongst the other communities.

NAGA-MANIPUR BOUNDARY

Thus, the establishment of an officer in the Naga hills and his stern action had for some time, brought about a cessation of the Naga raids on the British territory. However, trouble now arose in another direction. It came from the side of Manipur. The hilly areas over which this state had territorial jurisdiction was vague and ill-defined. This often resulted in a confrontation with the neighbouring large and powerful villages. In order to solve this problem, in 1872 the boundary line between Manipur and the Naga Hills was clearly laid down. At all essential points, and wherever it could be identified, the boundary line of 1872 was retained. The few villages which fell on the dividing line and over which

Manipur had acquired control, were given to this state. Further, from the Telizo Peak, which marked the termination of 1872 line, to the watershed of the main line of hills which divide the affluents of the Brahmaputra from those of the Irrawaddy, as far as the Patkai Pass, was declared to be the limits of the Manipur State on its Northern frontier. The Naga Hills district was advanced to match with the boundary of Manipur thus determined.

In 1869 Captain Gregory was succeeded by Captain Butler. Captain Butler was by character and disposition admirably qualified to hold this position. He proceeded gradually to extend control over the hill tribes. He sent survey parties, properly escorted, into the hills. When in January 1875 a coolie was murdered in Wokha after a camp was attacked, Captain Butler's retribution was sharp and sudden. Meanwhile, in February, some trans-Dikho Nagas attacked and killed Lieutenant Holcombe and eighty of his men. Captain Butler was relieved from his present charge and ordered to proceed to avenge the death of Lieutenant Holcombe. This brought an end of Butler's operations in this area. However, the annexation programme had begun. It had been started in 1874 by Captain Johnstone who was then officiating for Captain Butler. He took three villages under his complete and definite control and protection. In token of their submission, they were made to agree to pay a certain amount of revenue to the Government. This example was to be followed by others and the process of annexation began to grow slowly. In the winter of 1875 survey operations were once again taken in hand. There was a slight delay when in December of the same year Captain Butler received a fatal wound in an ambush at Pangti, near Wokha. Lieutenant Woodthorpe, who took over Butler's position, promptly burnt down Pangti. The neighbouring villages were friendly and the survey work could continue once again.

The state of perpetual warfare which prevailed among the Naga tribes and the continued Angami aggression by the

men of Khonoma and Mezoma in particular, attracted the attention of the government. Within two years six villages had been plundered and 384 persons were killed, chiefly by Khonoma and Mezoma. The government wanted to take some measures to stop such outrages. While the matter was under consideration by government, the Mezoma once again raided the village of Gumaigaju near Asalu in the North Cachar Hills and killed six British subjects.

ANNEXATIONS

In December 1877, Political Officer, Carnegy, accompanied by a force of 246 sepoy and police, captured Mezoma and burnt down the village. The Nagas, however, continued to occupy the surrounding hills from where they continued their harassment of the British troops. During the course of these operations, Carnegy was accidentally shot by his own sentry. The submission of Mezoma was finally obtained by Captain Williamson, the Inspector-General of Police. In order to strengthen the annexation process, in 1877 the Secretary of State gave his consent to the proposal that the headquarters should be moved into the interior of the hills. He also agreed to strengthen the district staff so that the management of the tribes could become more efficient. In November 1878 Kohima was occupied by the British without any opposition. By this time sixteen Naga villages had tendered their submission before the British authorities.

During the winter season of 1878 the tribes largely remained quiet and docile. This was seen by the British as a sign of encouragement. But by June 1879 there were signs that trouble was brewing in the powerful village of Khonoma, which dominates Kohima geographically. In order to quell the trouble, the British levied a fine on the villagers. In July the fine was duly paid by the villagers and the clouds of trouble appeared to have passed away. During the following cold weather, Damant, the Political Officer of the Naga Hills proposed to make a tour of the Ao country.

Before starting, he decided to visit Khonoma and on October 13 he set out with an escort of 21 sepoy and 65 policemen. Damant was warned that it was not safe for him to go there. It is said that a Jotsoma interpreter not only informed him of the village's hostility but also, repeatedly, fell on his knees before Damant in order to dissuade him from going there. Damant did not heed this warning as he believed that there was no danger. Taking only half his escort with him, Damant went up the steep pathway leading to the village. He found the gate to be closed. As he stood there, he was shot dead. A volley was poured out on to his escort, which broke formation and ran down the hill. The Nagas then streamed down the hill-side and completely routed Damant's troops, killing 35 and wounding 19.

This news reached Kohima the same day and the small detachment stationed at Wokha was called in. On 21 October 1879, this detachment besieged Khonoma. The siege continued for six days when Colonel Johnstone marched in with his garrison consisting of a strong force of Manipuris and took over Khonoma without any opposition.

Within a short space of five years three British officers had been killed by the hill men. The British authorities now felt that it was time that the Nagas were 'taught a lesson'. In order to do this a strong force was prepared which consisted of the 44th Sylhet Light Infantry (the present 8th Gurkha Rifles), a detachment of the 43rd Assam Light Infantry (the present 7th Gurkha Rifles), and two mountain guns. This force attacked Khonoma on 22 November 1879. During the assault, two British officers, Major Cock, the DAAG, and Lieutenant Forbes were killed. The Subedar Major of the 44th Native Infantry was also killed, along with 44 men of other ranks who were either killed or wounded. Among the wounded were two British and two 'Native' officers. During the night Nagas abandoned the village and retreated to a strongly fortified position on the crest of the Barail range where there were many other villages. The British decided to reduce their number through a blockade.

As a result of the position of the Khonoma Nagas, the British had to face the hostility of thirteen villages before being able to reach Khonoma. Of these hostile villages, Piphima, Merema, Sechuma, Chiepama and Pfuchama were attacked and destroyed. Lieutenant Maxwell was severely wounded before Chiepama. The troops went about the hills 'punishing' the villages that had opposed them. The men of Khonoma, however, continued to hold out against the British troops.

Towards the end of January 1880, a party of fifty-five men of the unconquered Khonoma with only seven firearms among them, started from Popolongmai and marched down the bed of the Barak river through Manipur territory. Crossing by a disused road into British territory, they surprised the Baladhan Tea garden in Cachar at night, killed the manager, Mr Blyth, and sixteen coolies, plundered what they could and burnt everything in the place. They then marched back unmolested by the same route. The distance is full 80 miles, as the crow flies, from Khonoma.

The Khonoma men finally capitulated in March 1880. They were again ordered to vacate their village, and their terraced fields were to be confiscated for distribution amongst others. This order was later on withdrawn as it was impossible to induce the Khonoma men to take up habitation elsewhere. Moreover, no other Nagas dared to occupy the confiscated Khonoma fields because they feared the terrible reprisals from the Khonoma men. The Khonoma villagers were assessed for revenue. At first the revenue was fixed at the rate of one rupee and one maund of rice per house. Later on this was changed to two rupees per house, which was the rate prevalent among the other tribes at that time.

The dual process of pacification as well as annexation of the Naga tribes and their villages by the British steadily continued. The British authorities, at times, had to resort to punitive expeditions. It was felt by the British that this was the only way to teach the Nagas to respect the lives and

property of those who had submitted to the British and were therefore considered to be British subjects. These expeditions however passed off without any serious incident because the Nagas did not offer any real opposition to them. Thus there was no repetition of the painful incidents of the seventies.

In May 1883 the calm was again disturbed when the Semas of Rotomi murdered two Lothas who were British subjects. To make matters worse, they refused to obey the order of the Deputy Commissioner directing them to come in and answer to the charge of murder. This affront to the British authority could not be allowed to go unchallenged. Accordingly, a strong force, led by McCabe, marched against the village. The villagers did not allow the troops to advance without a challenge. Accordingly, it was found necessary to open fire and some 50 or 60 of the enemy were killed. This punishment of the Rotomi Nagas again had the desired effect. Peace was restored and the two other villages that had committed murders paid up the fines imposed on them, without demur. Encouraged by this success, McCabe made a promenade through the Ao country in 1885 and was met with no serious opposition. Hence, in 1889 this territory was also incorporated within the boundaries of the district.

Four villages across the river Dikho—Yajim, Jesu, Noksen, and Litem—continued to raid the western or the British side of the Dikho. In order to put an end to this, in April 1888, McCabe crossed the Dikho and burnt down the four villages. The villagers did offer some token resistance but the British troops were able to brush this aside without much difficulty.

These four villages belonged to the Tuensang tribe of the Nagas. They were not the kind of men to be cowed down by such a punishment. Consequently they looked for opportunities to attempt reprisals for the punishment meted out to them. For some time they were unable to offer any effective opposition to the British Indian troops. In June 1888 they found a suitable opportunity and they suddenly attacked the

two Ao villages of Mongsemdi and Lungkung. In this attack they killed 148 people in the former village and 40 in the latter. In order to prevent any repetition of such an outrage the British decided to take immediate steps. A guard of 50 men was posted in a strong stockade at Mongsemdi. The Tuensang Nagas, in a show of resentment, attacked this stockade, shortly after its establishment at night, but they were beaten back without any difficulty.

In January 1889 the Deputy Commissioner, with a force of 200 men went across the Dikho river in order to punish the offenders. The Nagas felt that the troops were too strong to be opposed. So they retreated without offering any resistance. In order to check the advance of the Deputy Commissioner and his troops, they burnt five of their villages. In this expedition a total of ten villages, including Tuensang, were destroyed. A considerable quantity of grain was also destroyed. However, only five or six of the enemy, were killed and the Deputy Commissioner failed to recover any of the captives who were reported to have been carried off from the Ao villages.

The Deputy Commissioner returned from Tuensang but was forced to cross the Dikho river once again. This time he had to go across to punish Tangsa and two khels of Yongnya who had murdered those Nagas who were, for all intents and purposes, the subjects of the Crown. Once again the trip of the Deputy Commissioner met with little success. He could not procure the surrender of the actual murderers and had to return after burning down the houses of the guilty communities.

In 1892 the episode of the Yongphang village clearly revealed the thinking of the primitive tribals who were prone to thinking that any leniency was a sure sign of weakness. An Ao Naga had crossed the Dikho river and entered into the Sangtam village on a trading mission. A native of this village killed the Ao and then fled to Yongphang. The Deputy Commissioner proceeded to Yongphang and demanded the surrender of the murderer. The

villagers were unable to comply with this order as the man had fled from there too and they did not know his whereabouts. The Deputy Commissioner then burnt the murderer's house and ordered the Yongphang people not to help the man in future. As the villagers were in no way a party to the murder therefore the Deputy Commissioner did not inflict any punishment on them. The Yongphang Nagas misunderstood the motives of the Deputy Commissioner. They ascribed his leniency to the view that he was afraid of them. This emboldened them and they attacked the villagers who had furnished the Deputy Commissioner's party with supplies for this expedition. The Deputy Commissioner was, therefore, forced to return to Yongphang. At first the Yongphang Nagas resisted his advance. When they found this to be difficult then they evacuated their village. When the Deputy Commissioner found that the offender refused to come in and surrender or pay a fine, there was nothing for him to do but to set fire to their houses.

Shortly after this incident the Yongphang (PHOM) Nagas tendered their submission. This instance was another example for the British administrators of the salutary effect on the Naga mind of the stern punishment of burning of their villages and homes. The burning of villages and killing of innocent people afforded a very sad consolation to the Deputy Commissioner for the fact that such events inevitably resulted in the establishment of good relations. This was a demonstration of the strange Christian spirit. Further he said that after they had been burnt out, the villagers seemed to consider that they had become the children of the Maharani, the Queen.

The events of 1892 appeared to have a strong effect on the Naga mind. Consequently, it was seen that only one regular punitive expedition was required after this. However, the Deputy Commissioner, during his tours was generally accompanied by a guard who would punish the villages which declined to surrender those persons who were guilty of murder.

In November 1903, trouble again arose when the Pilashi Khel of Tuensang killed two Aos who had come across the Dhiko for the purposes of trade. The following month the Chongphu Khel carried off three mithuns from British territory. The British could ill afford to ignore these incidents. In January 1905, the Deputy Commissioner proceeded to this village to punish the guilty. When the villagers saw the force of a 100 men of the military police approaching, they abandoned their homes, but not before killing two of the transport coolies who were struggling behind. As a punishment, the British Deputy Commissioner burnt down the village and killed a number of pigs and cattle.

ADMINISTRATION

The country occupied by the Aos had been formed into the sub-division of Mokokchung in 1890. Now in 1903 the area which was known as the Political Control (and was a part of the present Tuensang district) was incorporated into the Naga Hills District. In 1901 this district covered an area of 3070 sq miles. The area covered by the Kohima Sub-division was 2,837 square miles and had a population density of 29 to the square mile. In Mokokchung, the area covered was 738 square miles with a population density of 46. The major Naga tribes inhabiting this district at the close of the nineteenth century were the Angamis (27,506), the Aos (26,753), the Kachcha Nagas (6,559), the Lothas (19,257), the Rengmas (4,170), and the Semas (24,666). Tribes like the Sangtams, Konyaks, the Changs, were still living in the unadministered area. This area later on came to form a part of Nagaland in the Tuensang district.

Till 1901 the majority of the Nagas were still faithful to the religion of their forefathers. Around 96 per cent of the population was described as animistic. In 1899 there were only 211 Christians in the district, while in 1901 their number rose to 579, most of whom were Baptists. Out of a total

population of over one hundred thousand, only 363 were literate in any language. There was only one middle school in which only seven pupils were studying. The entire district had three dispensaries and the administration of the District cost the British only Rs 4,686, excluding the salaries of senior officers.

Chapter 3

FROM ANIMISM TO CHRISTIANITY

FAITH

Forms of belief and evolution in the tenets of faith of a people play an important role in the history, growth and development of these people. By examining the changes in the belief patterns of a people one can perhaps gain such insights into the working of the historical processes of a people which may not be available through other means. Similarly, if we look into the early history of the Nagas and pay our attention to the traditional beliefs and forms of worship of these people, and how these have changed over the different stretches of time, we can catch an illuminating glimpse into the evolving psyche of these people. Religion, whether in its earliest form of animism or in the modern form of Christianity, has played a vital role in the history of the Naga people. Thus, any view of the Nagas, whether historical or sociological, cannot be complete without an effort at tracing out the changing religious patterns of these people.

ANIMISM

The genesis of the practice of religion, when traced to its roots in primitive tribes and societies is often found to rest in some form or manner of 'animism'. The earliest Naga tribes also expressed their awe towards the supernatural being and their fascination for solving the mystery of existence, through animism. It was through animism that they expressed their basic patterns of beliefs affecting individual and collective

behaviour. In its broadest sense, animism implies the attribution of a living soul to inanimate objects and to natural phenomenon, as well as the belief in the existence of soul or spirit as distinct and apart from inert matter. It is interesting to note that the word 'animism' comes from the word 'anima' which in its original connotation meant 'breath', 'life force' or 'soul'. Thus in formal definitions, animism is spoken of as the belief in the phenomenon of animal life as produced by an 'immaterial' anima. Sir Edward B. Taylor, in his book *Primitive Culture*, contends that animism is the origin of religion and the beliefs of primitive people. Anthropologically, he was the first to use this term for beliefs, based on the universal human experience of dreams and visions, in 'spiritual beings', comprising of souls of individual creatures and other spirits.

The patterns of belief, or religion, of the early Nagas show definite signs of being animistic in nature. As an animist, the early Naga was an adherent to a belief in the existence of soul or spirit in matter. He recognised the presence of an unseen higher power which exercised control over man's destiny and was entitled to obedience, reverence, and worship. The beliefs of these Naga tribes were expressed through their worship of Nature and natural phenomenon and through their faith in the power of magic and of omens.

THREE MAJOR SPIRITS

The early Naga tribes believed in three distinct classes of spirits. Within these three broad distinctions, which covered the entire existence of the people, there were also certain sub-divisions and sub-classifications. The first category was the Creator who was concerned with the process of creation; the second were the spirits of the sky, the angels and the third formed the group of spirits who lived among men and were of the earth. These spirits were beneficent as well as maleficent. Different spirits were propitiated through different rituals. There were ceremonies concerning different

areas like fertility, protection, good fortune, healing, wealth, social status, etc.

The first category, was the creator. This Creator had different names in different tribes: the Sema called it *Alhou*, the Ao referred to it as *Lijaba*, the Lotha called it *Potso*, and so on. The existence of all creation was ascribed to the work of the Creator. However, the Creator has a number of manifestations depending upon the particular creation in question. For example, when the point is of the creation of the Sun, the Creator is called *Khetsunhe Lhou* by the Semas (meaning sun-god); in connection with the moon the manifestation is called *Aqhilhou* (meaning moon-god); in creating the earth, the Creator is called *Ayeghighalhou*. On creating man he is called *Timilhou*, meaning, the creator of man. All these different names, are different attributes of the same Creator. This Creator is supreme and beneficent to mankind. It is not earthly in the sense that it does not interfere in the day-to-day activities of man but at the same time oversees the cumulative activity of mankind at large. This spirit is all-wise and all-blessing and for the Naga tribes represents the manifestation of the unseen divine power behind creation, activation, and the final destiny of mankind.

The second category of spirits are the spirits of the sky called *Kungumi* in Sema. These spirits are both male and female. The male spirit is called *Kungumi* and the female spirit is called *Kungulimi*. These spirits of the sky dwell high up in the sky but they often come down to the earth and marry the sons and daughters of man. There are stories about *Kungumi* and *Kungulimi* coming down and mixing with good and righteous boys and girls specially on misty days and nights. They perform kind deeds for man even though they live high up in the sky. The Lotha tribe believe that these spirits have built storey upon storey, ascending up to the highest point in the sky. They have different attributes and functions. They work as attendants as well as ambassadors to the great Creator.

The third group of spirits which live on the earth, in the jungles, in the lakes, among men and in their houses, unseen, are the spirits of the earth. The Sema call these spirits *Tughami*, the Ao call them *Mojing*, and the Lotha call them *Ngaza*. These spirits are generally maleficent and desire evil towards man but they can be propitiated through sacrifices. The Sema word 'tughami' means 'wildmen', and they are so called because the atmosphere of wilderness attracts them and they like to live in such an atmosphere of wilderness. These groups of spirits are further classified according to the specific place of their abode. Those which live in houses are called the 'house-spirit', or in Sema, *Akighau*. The spirits of the field are called *Alughau* by the Semas. The third type is the spirit of man and the last kind are the spirits of the forests or the spirits of the wild, which are called *Muzamuza* by the Semas which literally means *Echo*.

HOUSE SPIRITS

The *Akighau*, or the house-spirits, are generally found in big and rich men's houses or in empty houses which have been deserted by their owners after some tragedy in the family. They have the appearance of a monkey or an ape, but they disappear quietly every time. They can be heard making noises all over the house as they move about touching different household articles. I can recollect several occasions when the people of my village talked of the house-spirits of my grandfather. Many of these people were afraid to go to my grandfather's house all alone as they had seen these house-spirits. I remember hearing my grandmother talking to these spirits as if she were carrying on a conversation with a human being. My grand-parents were always concerned about keeping these spirits in good humour and for this purpose they threw rice-beer and pieces of meat and rice around the 'king pillar' of the house everyday. Every genna or feast, whether big or small, would begin with the propitiation of the house-spirits by my grand-parents by

throwing rice, meat and rice-beer around the king pillar of the house and inviting the house-spirits to partake of the bountiful food provided for their happiness. Displeasure of these spirits could result in harm to the householders in many ways. However, if these spirits were kept suitably happy and satisfied then while being helpful and benevolent to the owner they were also malevolent to his enemies.

A story is told about a man who went to his friend's house in his absence and as he felt thirsty, he dipped his hands for drink in the liquor vat. His friend's house-spirit, though invisible, caught his hands by the wrists and held him till the owner of the house returned in the evening and released him.

FIELD SPIRITS

The second category of the spirits of the earth were the spirits of the fields. These spirits live in the fields and protect the crops from damage by wild animals and hailstorms. They also give protection to the owner of the field as he works in his fields. The Semas believed that while it is Alhou, the Creator, who ordains man's worldly lot, man's physical well-being, riches and wealth are all given to him through the spirits of the field. Among them the greatest importance is given to one spirit called *Nitsapa* which means 'he who gives wealth'. The cultivation of paddy which is an important crop for the Nagas as this is their staple food is also attributed to the generosity of the *Nitsapa*. As a story goes, once a stranger came to a certain village and asked for shelter. No one in the village was willing to receive him because his body was covered with dreadful sores. Finally however, a widow took pity on his plight and invited him in and gave him food and shelter. When the stranger was leaving, as a sign of his gratitude, he drew out a few seeds from his palm and gave it to the widow to sow in her fields. The widow sowed these seeds in her field and there rice grew. From that day onwards rice became known to man.

This was the beginning of paddy cultivation among the Nagas. The spirit *Nitsapa* was also considered to be the spirit of fruitfulness and was responsible for giving good and plentiful crops. Thus, every year, on the occasion of *Nitsapa-Pine* the Semas worshipped this spirit in order to get good crops. Further, it was also believed that the *Nitsapa* had a special friendly relationship with the toad. Thus whenever the toad cried out from the field, the *Nitsapa* would send down rain at his call.

JUNGLE SPIRITS

The third group is the spirits of the forests called the spirit of the wild or junglemen. The Semas called them *Muzamuza*, meaning *echo*. In the jungle, they are heard calling out to each other just like men, and at times appear to be quite close, but on search they are not traced. These jungle-men are the spirits of the woods who very often lead men astray in the jungle. Whenever a man or a woman is found missing from the village or the fields, that person is supposed to have been taken away by the spirit of the woods. The relatives of the lost man or woman must release a chicken in the direction of the jungle where he or she was supposed to have been taken away by *Muzamuza*. They call out the name of the lost person as they search for him and asked *Muzamuza* to release him to them. Persons who are once lost to *Muzamuza* and later found by their relatives are never the same. They become mad in most cases. *Muzamuza* is thus a dreaded spirit.

Sometimes, a man may lose his way in the jungle and despite every attempt to find his way, he comes to the same spot. In this case, he must cut-off a piece of his clothes or a portion of his hair and leave it on a branch of a tree and then the man can find his way home. This is attributed to the charming of the Python snake who generally swallows animals and men. This has no relation with the jungle-man or *Muzamuza*.

SORCERY

The fourth group of spirits is those of men, which in a manner of speaking can be called the ghosts of men. The Nagas believed that there are spirits attached to men which control their fate and destiny. Some individuals were supposed to have a number of spirits attached to them, some of which were animals like the tiger, the snake, the ape, etc. Some were even human beings who often turned out to be evil spirits. These spirits were called *Aghau* by the Semas, *Ropfu* by the Angamis, and *Nisung Tanula* by the Aos. It was believed that some of the *Aghau* were gifted with the power of prophecy while others had the power of extracting foreign bodies, like stones etc. from the bodies of sick men. It was thought that such foreign bodies were put there by the evil spirits. The Nagas had great faith in the powers of the *Tumumi* who were invariably consulted in case of illness. The *Tumumi* would inform the sick person whether some evil spirit had touched him or had put some 'dirt' in his body. The *Tumumi* would then rub the affected part of the patient's body and then extract, sometimes with the mouth, some brown juice, pieces of stone, or bits of bone or hair from the patient's body. There would be no mark on the place from where these things were extracted. I had one such experience when I was a child. One day when I experienced a severe pain in my stomach my mother at once sent for *Luzuli* who was the *Tumumi* in our village. The *Tumumi* touched my stomach with a bunch of medicinal herb, called *Ailo*, which she had brought with her. She also muttered something which I could not understand. Then, for sometime she massaged my stomach very gently and collected the skin in a particular area where I was feeling the pain. Then she put her mouth around this collected skin and sucked out several small pieces of stones from my stomach. She told me that when I was playing alone on the road an evil spirit had put these stones in my stomach. As these stones were removed I felt relieved of the severe pain.

SOUL

The Nagas also believed in the soul of man. If a Sema built a temporary shelter in the jungle or on the roadside during his travel outside, he would always burn it down before he abandoned it. If this was not done then it was feared that the soul of the traveller would linger on behind him in that temporary shelter and would even eventually leave him, thereby causing his death. When anybody felt sick after his return from fields or elsewhere, it was feared that his soul had not followed him and thus caused his illness. The relatives of the sick man would immediately take a chicken or a dog to the field or to the place from where the sick man returned and killed the animal. First they offered a share to the sick man's soul and then the rest was eaten up completely by them. No meat was taken home. The eldest among them would then call out loudly the sick man's name and request him to follow them. They would then return home very slowly and the sick man's soul was ushered into the house. Sometimes, the soul may be frightened on the way and may go back to the same place. A story is told about one mischievous fellow who laid in wait for an acquaintance who had gone to the fields to call for the soul. As soon as the party approached the place, the man in ambush came out suddenly, beat the ground just behind the passers and shouted aloud. The frightened soul, fled away again and the unfortunate body, deprived of its soul, died after a few days. It was also believed that if a Sema had killed a tiger he had to sleep on a slippery bamboo bed in order to be wakeful lest the soul of the dead beast returned to harm his own soul.

The Nagas believed in the immortality of the spiritual part of man and in the transmigration of souls. The disembodied spirit of a dead person could exist in various states and was susceptible to happiness and misery in future states of existence. It was believed that a dead man's soul lingered on in his house for some months before leaving. Therefore in Sema houses the seat of a dead man at the eating place was

kept vacant and during every meal some food was set apart for the deceased till such time as the soul left the house. The Semas believed that the soul often assumed the shape of some bird, like the kite. This bird is called the *Kithimi Ghau*, which means 'the bird of death' (kithimi means death, and ghau means bird). The soul of a dead person, on taking the form of a kite flies off to a mountain near Wokha called *Kithilato*. *Kithilato* means 'the path to the hill of death' (*kithi* is 'death', *la* is 'path', *to* means 'hill'). From this hill the soul then passes off into another world which is believed to be a celestial home for souls. The bird *Kithimi Ghau* is greatly revered and respected for obvious reasons. Whenever this bird appears hovering over any house, the householders offer it rice and rice-beer. The physical features of the Wokha mountain are such that the Semas associated it with the path to the next world and called it *Kithilato*. This mountain is very rocky and has many strata of rock in sharply defined layers going up into the sky. This mountain is clearly visible from the Sema territory and the summit of the mountain is usually hidden in clouds, further enhancing its extra-terrestrial connotation. The series of steps leading up to a partially hidden peak must have suggested the idea that the creator and the spirits of the sky lived above this mountain. Perhaps for this reason too the Semas called these spirits *Kungumi* or celestial beings. This celestial abode is believed to be the final and permanent home of the souls after leaving the body.

GENNAS

The intricate system of beliefs and rituals of the Nagas suggests that their religion was a mixture of Animism and Polytheism. A very important part of the Naga belief in all these spiritual beings was the large number of 'gennas', or ceremonies, for the propitiation of these spirits. These gennas varied from tribe to tribe and from region to region. The different kinds of ceremonies, or gennas, among the

Semas can be combined together into three main categories: the *Suphuwo*, the *Tukuphuwo*, and the *Choliphuwo*. Among the Semas, the *Suphuwo* is the main group of ceremonies while the *Tukuphuwo* has some elements of Sangtam practice and the *Choliphuwo* has some elements of the practice of the Ao gennas. Here, I would like to concentrate more on the *Suphuwo* ceremonies as they are a part of the gennas practised by large number of the Semas.

The *Suphuwo* ceremonies largely comprise of two main kinds—the agricultural gennas and the social gennas. These gennas were performed to appease the spirits of the fields and the spirits of the house. This would ensure prosperity through the fields and peace, happiness and harmony at home. The Chief Priest, in consultation with the wise men of the village, prepared and proclaimed the yearly calendar of agricultural gennas. This involved a consideration of the states of the weather during different times of the year. The sowing of the seeds was heralded by the call of the Cuckoo called the *Khashopapu* in Sema. It was firmly believed that no sowing should be done till the song of the cuckoo is heard.

By the *Suphuwo* calculations the *first genna* of the agricultural year started with the *Asuyekiphe Pine*. This implied the clearing of the new 'jhum', or cultivation. On the day of this genna everyone was forbidden from cutting wood, husk paddy, spin, weave, sew clothes, string beads or peel or tie bamboos. The next day all the cultivators who had to clear their fields and prepare for new cultivation prepared an offering to the spirits of the fields. This offering was in the form of an egg placed on a stick of a special wood called *Thumusu*. This stick was split into three at the top to hold the egg. On the spot where this egg was placed, later a field house was built. Thereafter the clearing operations were started. However, a small patch of land was left uncleared for the next genna.

The *second genna* associated with agriculture was called the *Luwupine*. On this day the uncleared patches in the field

were finally cleared off. Immediately after the clearing was over, offerings of animals like chicken, pig or dog, were made on some suspected spots in the field, particularly near a pond or a stream having reddish or dark coloured water in it.

The *third genna* was the *Vesavela* which took place after Jhums had been burnt and the fields were ready for sowing. On this day again all weaving, spinning, sewing etc. as well as all work in the fields were forbidden. Further, on this day special care was taken to see that no loud sound was produced. It was believed that any such sound would invoke the storms which would then damage the fields and make them unfit for sowing.

In the series of gennas to honour the spirits of the field, the *fourth* was the *Nitsapa Pine*. This genna was to invoke the spirits of the field responsible for the fertility, wealth and fruitfulness of the fields. For the duration of this genna all activities like husking of paddy, spinning, weaving, etc. were forbidden. In this genna all rich and important people of the village offered sacrifices of pigs. After the pigs were killed, one of its hind legs was offered to the *Amthau* who would be the first reaper of the harvest when the crop was ready for cutting. The word *Amthau*, means 'crop cutter' (the word 'am' means crop, while the word 'thau' means cutter). The genna of *Nitsapa* marked the completion of all the preparations of the fields. Now the process of sowing could commence.

After the *Nitsapa Pine* two more gennas were observed in order to ensure good and plentiful crop. One is the *Miti* genna which was performed to prevent damage to the crops by insects etc. The second was the *Muza* genna which is performed to ensure luxurious growth of crops. After the performance of these two gennas the whole village could go out to sow the seeds. First the whole village sowed the seeds in the field of the *Awou*, the *Awou* himself starting first, followed by the others. Then the whole village sowed seeds in the Chief's fields. After this the villagers could go and sow

the seeds in their own fields. If the rains did not come in time then the *Tsutsughu Pine* genna was performed in order to invoke the rains to come on time.

One of the most important gennas associated with agriculture was the *Tuluni* genna. The duration of the performance of this genna was five days. This genna took place during the last five days of the last quarter of the moon. During these days one was forbidden from going into the fields and everyone had to remain chaste in order to ward off ill-luck to the family. The first day of this genna was called the *Asuza* which meant preparing wine from millets. The second day was called the *Aghiza* which meant brewing wine from rice. The liquor brewed from rice is called *Azhicho*. The third day of the genna was the *Ashigheni* which meant cutting meat. On this day everyone had to remain in the village and eat pork. If pork was not eaten on that day, grain would not form properly. The fourth day of this genna was the *Anyighini*. This was the 'offering day' and from this word we have the derivation *Anyi* or *Tuluni*. On this day every married couple presented an offering at the foot of the front central post of the house. This pillar was called *Akhetsu Kucho* or the king pillar. The fifth and the last day of the genna was called the *Laghepine*. On this day the common path to the fields was cleared by all the male members of the village. After this clearing the women were allowed to go to work in the fields. With this the ceremonies of the *Tuluni* or the *Anyi* genna came to an end.

After the important *Tuluni genna*, there were two other gennas called the *Saghu Pine*. The *Saghus* were twin spirits, one male and the other female, who were considered to be as cruel as they were evil. Great care was taken to avoid and confuse these two spirits. The *Awou*, or the Priest, would deceive these spirits by announcing wrong dates for this genna; otherwise it was believed that he would die an untimely death. The doors of the houses were kept closed to prevent these spirits from entering the house. Again, on this day no noise was produced. The *Saghus* were believed to get

annoyed with noise and would then visit the earth in the form of storms or whirlwinds and spoil the crop. Pigs were killed by important people of the village at dawn and the meat was distributed among the villagers. While receiving the meat a villager would squeeze out through a barely opened door so as to keep the evil spirits out. A piece of this meat was burnt before the front pillar of the house as a means of appeasing the Saghu spirits. After this appeasement was over the doors of the house were thrown open. The person who had killed the pigs received one day's free labour from every recipient of the meat. These gennas were kept at full moon and the harvesting process would begin on the next new moon.

Aphikimithe Pine (Cleansing Genna) is held three days before the first day fixed for cutting of the crop by *Amthau* (First Reaper). Before dawn on this day, all males went to the nearest river and wash their bodies, weapons and clothes. They brought back with them new water in new bamboo vessels. They did not touch the old water in their houses on that day. During this night all males had to remain chaste and after taking with them clean clothes and weapons, they went to some member of their clan who had a clean house, and slept away from their wives. There they collected fermented rice from which they made liquor with the new water that they brought. On the day of the ceremony, they sat and drank the new liquor. They abstained from rice and meat of domesticated animals but they only ate meat of wild animals which they had collected previously.

In the afternoon, all the male members would go to a particular place called *Aghunoa* outside the village and drank together. After they finished their drink, each one of them would split the bamboo vessel into two equal parts and give a toast for his good health. Each one of them would say, "*Aphikimithe-Mithe*" (Aphi—body, Kimithe—cleansing) and threw up the bamboo vessels (*jhunga*). If the two sides of bamboo fell in two opposite directions—the east and the

west, then the toast was taken to be of a very good omen and he felt very happy. They would repeat the process till they get good result. In the evening they all returned to the place and all meat and drink unconsumed by them would be buried in one pit near the village. On this day of the ceremony, the whole village would stay at home. No body was allowed to go to the fields to work or visit any other village. The next day, the First Reaper (*Amthau*) went to the field and cut a single head of rice from his field and deposited it in his granary. After this, reaping of the crops was open to the general public.

FESTIVALS

Ahunakuchu Pine. (Ahu—top, Na—rice, Kuchu—eating). This means the first eating of the new rice from the top of the newly stored crop. This festival is celebrated after all the crops are harvested and brought home and stored in the granary. This festival goes on for two days. The first day is called *Abosuho*, that is to say, the 'making of Mat enclosure' for the grain. Nagas use bamboo mats for enclosing the grain which is heaped up inside the mat enclosure in the granary. On the first day, *Abosuho* is done on the porch of the house by men and in the evening all male persons in the family are separated from women and sleep away from them. The festival continues the next day and they drink and eat meat of wild animal and remain separated from the women of the family. Only at the crowing of the cock next morning, the festival comes to an end. This completes all the festivals connected with agriculture.

There is another important set of festivals performed by the *Scma* tribe. These are religious ceremonies no doubt but are connected with the attainment of social status. The first of these is the *Shikusho*, which means 'eating and drinking' festival. The man who performed *Shikusho* will kill pigs kept for the purpose and the flesh is distributed and liquor provided for the whole village for six days. The next higher

and bigger festival he can perform is *Aphikusa*. In this *Aphikusa*, bulls are killed and meat and liquor are also provided, as before, for six days to the whole village. Y-shaped ceremony posts called *Michisuqhedu* are fixed firmly in front of the house, each representing the bulls killed. Bulls are tied to these ceremony posts and then slaughtered. The man who does this *Aphikusa* is now entitled to wear *Akhumi*—the Sema shawl which is treated as prestigious cloth signifying great respect and honour.

Higher and more honourable than the *Abhikusa* genna was the *Avikuqo* genna. This genna involved the pulling of the *Mithun* animal. One or more mithuns offered by the genna performer are taken to distant villages by the male members of the village for display. During the process of this display the villagers would sing and run alongside the mithuns who are tied with cane robes. The villagers would run in front and after the mithuns. Care was taken that the mithun should not run away and escape as this would be a very bad omen and would result in a terrible calamity befalling the man performing the genna. After the mithun had been displayed in the nearby and even distant villages, it was brought back, tied to a genna post called *Aghedu* and then killed ceremoniously. During the performance of all the above gennas the village would put on a festive air. Men and women would be arrayed in their best and come and dance with joy and merriment around the genna posts throughout the duration of the genna. After performing the *Avikuqo* genna its performer was entitled to put up the *Aghuza* outside his house. The *Aghuza* was a tall bamboo pole, thickly decorated with cane leaves and the lower half of this pole was supported by a rough forked pole called the *Michisukuba*. At the lower end of this pole ornamented baskets and gourds were tied. Along with them were the *Qugupu* or the clattering sticks. These sticks swung and clattered whenever the wind blew. Along with the *Aghuza* the performer of the *Avikuqo* genna was also entitled to put horn-shaped long twin bamboos crossing each other, on

the roof-top of his house. These were called the *Tunhaqu*. Along with all this the *Avikuqo* performer was also entitled to have a properly decorated house called *Akikigheki* with the rounds of thatch cut in a proper line. With the completion of this genna one was considered to have completed all the necessary ceremonies and had attained the highest status in society.

Apart from these there were also feasts of honour like the *Inamikusa* and the *Kupulhu-Kilekeu*. The first was a feast of honour given to another village, while the second was more of a personal and individual nature as it implied giving a feast to an individual for friendship. Such feasts could be given only by the very rich members of a village and as such they cannot be considered to be a part of the regular social status gennas.

With all these spirits, complex beliefs, and the varieties of gennas, life was intensely interesting, delightful as well as competitive. There was honour to be claimed through effort and charm to be enjoyed for the asking. Those who managed to complete the various ceremonies could well be proud of their achievements. Further, all these rituals, ceremonies and gennas were built around the communal life of the people. This was because the Naga society was a very closed and well-knit one. In it the individual was subordinated to the community. However there was a large measure of individual freedom which made one feel delighted in the welfare of his village. A Naga worked for his village, enjoyed the benefits given to him by the village and participated in joy and merriment in the different feasts of the village. One's individual pride was due to the pride of the village. Thus, the Naga villagers maintained and enjoyed a disciplined life. Existence was all the time involved and active with little scope for getting bored or listless. Every month had its series of feasts and a large number of ceremonies which were connected with the fields, the home or the social set-up. One had to be active and alert to be able to cope up with the requirements of the village as well as the home.

However, as is obvious, life was also full of superstitions and fear. It was a constant struggle to perform all the gennas to keep the large number of spirits in a state of appeasement. The variety of sacrifices required on several occasions involving the use of eggs, chicken, pigs, dogs, bulls, and mithuns, must have been very taxing for the comparatively poorer sections of society. Those who could not offer the required sacrifices were always haunted by the fear of evil spirits and impending calamities. Thus, peace of mind must have been a much coveted and rare commodity those days.

MISSIONARIES

It is against this background that one has to see the work of the Christian missionaries and the working of the Gospel among the Naga tribes. Initially, Christianity was bitterly opposed. Christian preachers, like pastors and evangelists, were driven away from their villages and even those who remained, were denied many facilities in the village as pressure tactics on them not to preach Christianity.

Many problems arose between those who still held the faith of their forefathers and the new converts. All new converts had been strictly forbidden to touch alcohol in any form. Any new convert who drank after his conversion was expelled from the Christian community. As a result of this there arose a sharp division between the drinkers and non-drinkers now called Christians. Christians were asked to drink only tea. Rice beer called Madhu was a popular drink among the Nagas before the advent of Christianity.

Another problem arose over the ceremonies and festivals involving the whole village. The non-Christians insisted that every body belonging to the village must observe the ceremony and nobody should violate the ceremony by leaving the village on that day. Again regarding the village subscriptions, the Christians refused to subscribe for the sacrifices done for the propitiations of the spirits. It so

developed that Christians believed that they were a different people who no longer had anything to do with ancient customs of any kind. They even went to the extent of deliberately offending the ancient sentiments. This led to ceaseless quarrels and thus the Christians had to be separated and given a new site for their new Christian villages, like Mulongyimsen in Ao area and New Tsumenyu village in Rengma area in Kohima district. Again, as the early American Baptist Missionaries were busy in their organisation and in establishing their base of administration, they did not pay full attention to the proper selection of their messengers. They sent new converts for spreading the message of the Gospel. These new converts, who were ordinary villagers till yesterday, approached those who still held the faith of their forefathers, with an air of superiority and thus incurred the wrath of the elders of the village. Many of them did suffer at the hands of the village authorities who were still powerful as they were in a majority. The new converts, who had become pastors and evangelists, were very keen to baptize new converts and they promised too many miracles; that the poor would become rich, all sickness would be cured, and those who longed for children were assured of children if they only become Christians. Many did accept Christianity no doubt, but many went back to their original faith when their expectations were not fulfilled.

Long before the Christian missionaries came to the Naga Hills, there was some understanding among the foreign Christian missionaries that their activities in India should not conflict with each other. They tried to avoid overlapping their work and thus Assam was assigned to the Protestant Churches. The Naga Hills district of Assam fell to the share of the American Baptists. In 1851, a few Ao Nagas, especially those who belonged to the villages bordering Sibsagar district of Assam, were converted and became the members of the Sibsagar Baptist Church.

In the spring of 1876, Dr Clark of the American Baptist

Missionary Society, with the help of Mr Subongmeren, a local Ao convert and Mr Godhula, an Assamese Evangelist and others opened a Baptist Mission Centre at Molungyimchen village. However, as the number of converts grew, there came about the question of the observance of the local religious customs and rituals etc., and the village was bitterly divided on the question of religion. So in autumn, Dr Clark founded a new Christian village called Molungyimsen. This village contained the converts from Molungyimchen as well as a few families from the Merangkong village, a few miles away from Molungyimchen, the original village. As soon as the entire Ao area was brought under British administration, the Mission Centre at Molungyimsen was shifted to the present Ao Baptist Mission Centre at Impur on 4 October, 1894. Impur became the centre for many years not only for the Ao churches but also for the churches of the Semas, the Lothas, the Changs, the Phoms and the Sangtams. This centre at Impur has produced many powerful Gospel preachers like Rev. Longri and talented teachers like Mr Mayangnokcha and through them the Gospel message was spread far and wide in Naga Hills.

Similarly, in the Kohima district, the first American Baptist Mission Centre was opened at Chumukedima but it was later shifted to Kohima along with the shifting of the District Headquarters. Rev C.D. King was the first Christian Missionary for this area. In 1885 with the first conversion of one Angami, the foundation for spreading the Gospel message was established in this district. The Mission centre at Kohima with, Dr Rivenburg as Missionary incharge, opened a few Mission Schools and through them spread the Gospel message to other tribes, like the Rengma, the Chakhesang, the Sema and Zeliangrong. The Kohima Mission Centre also produced Gospel preachers like Rev Savino and administrators like Mr Kevichusa, Mr Zopianga, Mr Longalang, Mr J.B. Jasokie and Mr Vizol, etc.

The case of dividing villages between the Christian and the non-Christian also took place in this district. One Rev

Vilezu of Rengma was driven away from his village Tsumenyu and he was allowed to establish a Christian village called New Tsemenyu. Such cases happened in other places also.

CHRISTIANITY

One wonders why the Nagas gave up their old religion which was so fascinating, glorious and delightful, and embraced Christianity? Why was the rate of conversion so fast? As mentioned earlier, the life of a Naga was full of superstitions and fears. Moreover the process of the propitiation of fearful spirits was very costly and beyond the means of most people. On the other hand, the lack of such an appeasement always invited vengeance and calamities from the wild spirits. Against such a background, the Christian message of freedom from fear, superstitions and above all from wild spirits did appeal strongly to the Naga minds. The second approach was that the religion of the Nagas was nothing more than heathenism which was the religion of ignorant and barbaric people. Nagas were told that there is a true God and they must worship and acknowledge this true God. They must give up all their pagan-like characteristics of drinking wine, sexual laxity, stealing, and above all head-hunting. Instead, they must love one another and they must enrol themselves as soldiers of Christ. The Naga tribes were told about the heathen world of the Jews and the Greeks. They were also told how Christ was sent by God to this world and how Christ lived in this world and died on the Cross to save mankind from their sins. Many genuinely believed in the truth of the Gospel message.

The most effective way of attracting the simple villagers to Christianity was by telling them about Hell-fire. All persons who were not Christians would be burnt for ever in an undying fire after their death. It was thus safer to become a Christian in order to secure oneself from the dangers of Hell fire. All Christians firmly believed that the non-

Christians were doomed to this terrible fate, and the non-Christian brothers were naturally inclined to think that there may be something in it. In order to feed them with the Gospel message and to strengthen the new converts, the Baptist missionaries engaged themselves in the translation of the Bible into the local languages. Special attention was given to the translation of the New Testament which dealt more with the life of Jesus Christ and his message of Salvation. Salvation is the deliverance from sin and the saving of the soul and its admission to eternal bliss. Many pioneering Christian missionaries were men of great faith and did many valuable services to the Naga tribes.

The Nagas indeed are indebted to the pioneering missionaries for their work in the field of education, medical services, humanitarian work and above all in providing enlightenment. It is now a little over one hundred years since the Nagas accepted Christianity as their religion and it has exerted a tremendous influence on their lives. Many of them have given up excessive drinking which used to be the practice and the pride of their ceremonies and festivals. All evils connected with drunkenness are greatly reduced. Christians have also realised that it is immoral and sinful to carry on any pre-marital or extra-marital relationships. Marriages should be strictly solemnised and the family should be considered holy, respectful and should live in the love of God. The Christian missionaries have also, throughout, insisted on the importance of cleanliness. They said that cleanliness was next to godliness. This drive for cleanliness saved themselves from many diseases specially the skin diseases which used to be very common in the past.

CULTURAL SETBACK

Everything done in connection with the tribal ceremonies and festivals was regarded as an act against Christianity. The house decorations with animal-heads, which the Nagas valued as their trophies of valour, and the Mithun horns

which were a symbol of their prosperity as well as objects of art, were all destroyed. Even the wood carvings on the pillars of their houses were all ordered to be burnt out. The weaving with conspicuous designs and colours and the dyeing of clothes and dresses for religious ceremonies were all discouraged. Their beautiful ornaments of great artistic and human value, like cowries, ivory, scarlet hair and hornbills, were all burnt as they were ornaments used for worshipping the spirits. The art of dancing and colourful social ceremonies were all given up. The result is that all beautiful art and culture of the Nagas nearly disappeared. Only European dresses, mostly rags, which they received as gifts from America and England, were sold to them, and cool clothes from Assam were also encouraged. Nagas started neglecting their own talents of weaving clothes and started following the Western culture and cultivating the Western outlook. The worst part of all this is the loss of interest in their own way of life. The result is the gradual decay and eventual neglect of their rich culture.

As far as the Christian religion is concerned, every Naga believes today that the Christian religion for him is a religion from uncertainty to certainty, from darkness to light; from death to eternal life; damnation to salvation. A Biblical verse which the Christian missionaries often quoted from the book of the Prophet Isaiah runs like this: "The people, that walked in darkness have seen a great light; they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined." (*Isaiah* 9:2).

CHURCHES AND RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

At present, there are several Christian denominations working in Nagaland. They are: (1) Baptists, (2) Catholics, (3) The Assembly of God, (4) Ceylong Pentecostal, (5) The Nagaland Revival Church, (6) The Seven Day Adventists. There are in all 16 tribal associations with 2,20,617 baptised members. The Christian population of Nagaland is

more than 85% of the total population of the State. The remaining population is of Hindus, Jains, Sikhs, Buddhists and Muslims. They are all non-Nagas living in Nagaland as businessmen or officials of the Government. Nagas still holding on to their traditional religion have almost disappeared, and the question of Christian and non-Christian which once assumed great importance is no longer found in Nagaland. There are now, no foreign missionaries working in Nagaland. The churches are self-supporting. Every village in Nagaland has a church which is the largest and the best building. Every church has a pastor who is paid by the church. Every tribe has its Christian Association. These tribal associations are under the guidance and supervision of the All Nagaland Christian Associations. There are now many faithful and gifted preachers, evangelists and pastors in Nagaland. Every year almost the entire population attends these tribal Christian Associations.

There are occasional rivalries among the different Christian denominations and often there are also disputes within the same denomination over the modes of worship. Some of them want to dance while singing but others do not like it. Some of them want to pray loudly at the top of their voices but others do not approve of it. The central cementing power is not very effective. The reason, according to me, is the absence of mature and elderly Christian leadership in all these tribal Christian Associations. Many of them have either passed away or retired from Mission work. The younger leadership, though capable and active, do not command respect as many of them have not yet shown enough spiritual faith in their own personal lives. The unity of the Church of Christ is not strictly followed in all these tribal churches and specially among the different Christian denominations. There is a lack of love and understanding among them which creates confusion and sometimes brings about divisions among them.

RETENTION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

Whatever religion the Naga tribes may adopt, or whichever Christian denomination they may follow, they should never forget or neglect their rich social and cultural heritage. Their identity as a distinct tribe can contribute and enrich the great multi-racial and multi-cultural family of India. They must now try to find out and know whether any damage has been done by foreign missionaries to their social and cultural lives? They must also find out whether they have neglected their traditional virtues? In fact, Nagas must try to revive and strengthen their rich social and cultural life. About one thing which I am happy and always feel proud is that in spite of the initial restrictions and discouragements enforced by foreign missionaries not to wear traditional clothes, as they were considered to be heathenish, the Naga tribes did not forget and neglect their traditional shawls. They have rather developed them into many new and beautiful designs. Today, in every large gathering of Christian Associations, thousands of men and women wear their colourful tribal shawls and thus enliven their various associations. Nobody now questions whether or not it is heathenish to wear these tribal shawls.

All Naga tribes have a most remarkable appreciation of carvings in wood for the ornamentation of their houses and the moroongs of the villages. The carvings on the king pillar of the house indicate the social status of the family. The wood carvings of the Konyak tribe are specially very intricate. Many of them have artistic originality which must be encouraged. The Nagas have good taste in wood carvings, like Mithun heads with twine beautiful horns, carvings of tigers, wolves, hornbills with brilliant feathers, etc. These are in keeping with their environment and their habitat. In fact, the Christian leadership in Nagaland should no longer treat them as things of the past or heathenish, as taught by the foreign missionaries. They must encourage them to carve the image of Christ, his disciples, the angels etc. in wood and adorn their homes and churches with such

carvings. Today all churches in Nagaland are mere imitations of the churches in Europe and America. They do not reflect the Naga art and culture. The loss of interest in one's originality poses the greatest danger of moving towards the extinction of one's social and even religious life. Nagas have great creativity and this must be promoted for its aesthetic qualities as well as for strengthening and enriching their faith in God.

Dancing and singing are a part of tribal life. Their joys are expressed through their songs and their jubilations exhibited in their dances. Dances were once forbidden because they were associated with the ceremonies of worshipping the spirits. For many years the Nagas were told to think that it was a sin to dance. The art of dancing was thus eroded by their conversion to Christianity. Nagas usually dance in groups, and sometimes the whole village joins in during their festivals. Dancing enlivens their social life. It is a healthy and harmless recreation. It promotes unity and brotherhood and looks charming with their colourful ornaments, costumes, cowries, ivory, scarlet hair and brilliant hornbill feathers. They keep themselves active with fresh vigour through these brilliant festivities. The Naga tribes will have to preserve their cultural identity. This they can do by observing their important festivals like Sakhrinyi for the Angamis, Mòatsu for the Aos, Tuluni for the Semas etc. After all, these festivals were all observed for invoking the blessings of God for their good crops as well as for their health and wealth. It will be in the fitness of things that they convert their traditional culture to Christian arts and culture in order to glorify Almighty God and to make their life richer and happier. Their colourful dances should be encouraged by both the Church and the government. These dances could take place during their important tribal festivals, including Christmas and the New Year.

Chapter 4

NAGALAND-ASSAM BOUNDARY ISSUE

HISTORICAL PROCESS

Historical processes have their own inner, and often illusive, imperative logic. While we may trace the course and identify the causes of historical movements, often these may prove to be masquerades for the mysterious and surreptitious compulsions which push the human race forward. However, hindsight enables one to demarcate certain watersheds in the course of history which mark outstanding changes in the life of a people. Similarly, in the course of the history of the Naga hills and its numerous tribes, four major events can be identified which cast a considerable influence on the lives of the people living there. The discovery of tea on the sloping mountain-sides and the foothills in 1830; the occupation of Burma and the prospects of exclusive trade with China in the 1840s; the changing role of the trading East India Company into an empire building and the construction of a railway line through the tribal belt close to the tea gardens in 1880, were these four events.

TEA PLANTATIONS

The discovery and development of tea plantation in the Naga hills played a very significant role in the history of the Naga people. While different names are associated with the discovery of tea in these hills, it is generally attributed to one Mr. Robert Bruce, brother of Mr. A.C. Bruce who was appointed to the command of a division of gun-boats in 1824

and ordered up to Sadiya during the First Burmese War. Robert Bruce came to Assam in 1823 with an assortment of goods for disposal. During these years Assam was occupied by the Burmese. It is surmised that Robert Bruce was perhaps sent there by the British to feel the lay off the land and also to enlist the help of tribal chiefs in the impending war with Burma. Though Bruce did meet certain Singpho chiefs, it has not been possible to establish the veracity of this allegation. Bruce claimed to be a botanical expert and he convinced the Singpho Chief that tea, growing wild in their area, could match very favourably with the tea imported from China. Moreover, this area was conducive to the growth of the best tea. The finest tea produced in China, grew in areas which fell between the 25⁰ and 33⁰ of latitude. The tea-producing areas in Assam fall between the most favourable 27th Parallel and the 28th Parallel.

The import of tea from Peking by the Bhutias was a sore point for the trading Britishers in India and England. The tea brought from Lhasa cost over Rs 12 per seer, whereas Assam tea could be obtained for less than half that price. As, according to Captain Turner, over seven lakh rupees worth of tea was consumed per annum by the Teshu Lumbu district alone, tea trade with Bhutan could be a very profitable enterprise. It would not only develop the area but would contribute in no small measure to the future welfare of the Empire. Another advantage of developing tea-gardens in this area was that the cost of importing tea from Peking by the arduous and dangerous land journey of eight months was also cut short.

Use of tea was in vogue in Europe even before the 16th Century and it was imported from China. In 1664, the East India Company presented the King of England with 2 lbs and 2 ozs of tea. Since then tea came to occupy an important place in the life of all classes of British communities. In order to meet the increasing demand for tea, more and more ships were pressed into service. With a view to bringing in more tea leaves, these ships had to give up carrying many

European articles which were now easily available within occupied territories. By 1833 the East India Company had also started producing tea. At a rough estimate, this company retained almost 32 million pounds of tea for home consumption. As the popularity of tea increased manifold, it was considered expedient to use British capital and industry to produce such tea in Assam which was capable of competing with the best produce of China. Robinson says:

"It is not saying too much when we venture to assert that a more cheering prospect was never opened up to the British enterprise, with a greater certainty of a rich reward." It was this innate British sense for trade and marketing which brought Robert Bruce to Assam in 1823. Again, it was this love for tea trade which made the British accept the request of the Ahom Rulers in 1824 to help them drive out the Burmese from their land. After the Burmese had been driven out, the British set about consolidating their hold over the area and, on one pretext or the other, refused to share power with the Ahom Kings. The Ahom dynasty had successfully ruled over Assam for over six centuries. Thus there could be no question of doubt about their administrative and political acumen as well as their sense of basic human values. Further, the areas under the Ahom Rulers had always been prosperous. But the British, in their greed for the profitable tea trade, overlooked all these merits of the Ahom Rulers.

A prosperous land is always an invitation and a challenge for marauders and starving desperados. Prosperity also had the tendency of making the people indolent and ease-loving. Thus they become an easy prey to foreign invasion. All the invasions of India, whether from Greece, Mongolia or Burma, can be traced to this basic fact. In the case of most of these invaders, they stayed in the country sharing the wealth of the land with the people. However, the British trader-rulers denuded the country and carried off all they could to their own country. In doing this they left the country not only in a state of political turmoil but also in economic chaos and social confusion.

TEA COMPANIES

The British spent a few years consolidating their occupation over Assam. Then the British Administration commissioned Captain Jenkins to assess the resources of Assam, with special reference to tea plantation. Captain Jenkins approached Robert Bruce to obtain a comprehensive report on the locations of these plantations as well as the different modes of preparation of tea employed by the tribes. Encouraged by Captain Jenkins' assessment, the government employed a number of botanical experts, scientists and administrators to prepare a fuller feasibility report for the cultivation of tea plants. This work was carried out without any loss of time and the report was accepted by the government. As a result, in February 1839, an Assam Company was formed in England. This Company had 10,000 equity shares out of which eight thousand were allotted to the English gentry in England and two thousand to their traders in India. This Company then entered into negotiations with the government to acquire all the tea plantations and factories. Lord Auckland agreed to transfer two-thirds of all Government establishments and tea plantations to this Company. The Government also nominated Robert Bruce on the Management Board of the Company. The result was that the Tea Barriers between the Bari-Dihung and Tingri and from the high road from Jaipur to Sadiya, joining these two rivers (a tract of about 7000 acres) was transferred to the Company. The Company established its main factory at the junction of the Bari-Dihung and Tingri rivers. Another factory was set up at Dibrugarh where the head offices were also situated.

The effects of tea-cultivation on the lives of the Nagas can be seen from the fact that it was the Singphos who first allowed Bruce to start tea research on their land and it was the Singphos who were the first to lose their fertile tea-producing areas to the British in return for meagre considerations. Thus the war-like Singphos were subdued

and they "abandoned their old habits of lawlessness and rapine, and turned their attention to agriculture, now becoming necessary for their subsistence." Ningroola, a Singpho chief, was made a tea cultivator and he produced tea for some time. Later he had to surrender his plantations to the superior British cultivators.

CLASH OF INTERESTS FOR LAND

In the sixties there was a near mania for tea cultivation. The prospects of prosperity in this cultivation were so markedly evident that even people in other walks of life suddenly turned to tea cultivation. Sir Edward Gait, in his *History of Assam*, sums up this craze as under:

The conspicuous success of the Assam and Jorhat Companies, the latter which was formed in 1858 from the Estates of Messrs Williamson, led to the most extravagant idea regarding the prospects of tea cultivation. Fresh gardens were opened in all directions and a period of wild excitement and speculation supervened. The mania extended even to the Government officers and three Deputy Commissioners and several Police officers threw up their appointments to engage in tea gardens.

At another place, Sir Edward Gait writes:

As early as 1860, the Assam Company took up land for tea cultivation, in the Naga Hills, 20 years or more before any other Company was started. Due to occurrence of many clashes between the tea gardens and the Nagas, the imperial power had to take preventive measures to ease tension along the border by prohibiting any fresh grant south of Ladoigarh which was recognised as the boundary between Naga territory and Assam. The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal prohibited such fresh grants vide Letter No. 2733, dated Fort William, the 13th June 1871.

By the mid-sixties, all the land suitable for tea cultivation

in the north of the Brahmaputra as well as in the Muttuck country, which measured well over one lakh acres, was apportioned among the British cultivators. This land earlier belonged to the Naga tribes. When no more land was left here, the Britishers turned their sights to the south of Ladoigarh or the Naga bunds. Here the British cultivators did not find things very easy. Their efforts to cultivate the lands in this area created an uproar. An affected Naga Chief approached Lt. Col. W. Agnwe, offg. Commissioner of Assam and Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Judicial Department. Lt. Col. Agnwe accepted the representation of the Naga Chief, and in Note No. 185 dated 10th June, 1869, at Gauhati, he made the following observations:

The Mouzadar who appeared before me states the boundary marks are on the Ladoigarh. The road (Ladoigarh) referred to, however, is certainly regarded by the Nagas as their boundary; and we have never yet to their knowledge claimed any other. The grant of land for tea cultivation to the south of it (the Ladoigarh) is a step much to be regretted; and on political grounds, Government, I think, might interdict cultivation being commenced on these estates to the south side of the road still lying fallow either wholly or in part. For that matter I should suppose there can be little doubt that on grounds of public policy Government might even go a step further and cancel these grants. Of course no fresh grant will be given in the direction referred to, and inquiry shall be instituted in regard to the circumstances under which the revenue survey has carried on operations to the south of the Ladoigarh.

The Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Hon'ble A. Eden, wrote back on 30th September, 1869, saying:

On consideration of all the circumstances the Lt. Governor thinks it right to make the prohibition to grant fresh land south of the Ladoigarh road permanent.

Mr H.L. Harrison, Offg. Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal (to the Commissioner of Assam), in the note No. 2733, dated 19th June, 1871, said:

It appears that the Ladoigarh line is assumed by the Nagas to be the boundary, and that the propriety of the claim seems to be in some measure admitted by the local officers who regret that some grants have been made beyond the line; and the late Lt. Governor accordingly prohibited any fresh grants beyond the line.

Thus, it is clear that the British interests in the tea industry lead to their other interests in the Assam area and also to their annexation of Upper Burma in 1886. The British Government in India took an active interest in opening up and making habitable a large section of these mountains on the southern side of the valley between Assam and Burma. The ostensible reason for this was to put a stop once and for all to the "murderous raiding by the tribes, which was a source of perpetual terror and menace to the British trading interest and its subjects." In reality it was more the British trading and Empire interests than the question of providing protection to the British subjects which caused this hectic activity. The British were not content with just placing a huge armed force in these hills; roads were made by beggar workers, called Dhadar Ali, so as to make the remotest areas easily accessible to them. This was followed by the construction of the rail road through the area occupied by the Nagas and the other tribes. The history of the railways has shown that apart from the facilities it can provide, it is also one of the most powerful factors for social disintegration. Apart from such activity, the British kept a constantly strict vigil over this area. They were always mindful of the fact that this tract was on a direct route from India to the heart of China and formed the line of least resistance geographically and ethnically. This was the reason for the strong fortification of this area. Here it is pertinent to add

that in 1962 Free India ignored this vital factor and invited trouble and disaster from China.

In 1852 the Naga areas were constituted into a sub-division under the Nowgong district, with Asaloo as its headquarters. The Manipuri interests, the threatening postures of the Burmese, and the belligerent attitude of the powerful tribes who were blocking the path, forced the British to shift their headquarters to Samaguting, 10 miles up into the Angami territory. This area was formed into a new sub-division and called the North-Cachar Hill sub-division. This was done in 1870 and was placed under the Cachar district. This shifting was to have a very serious effect on Naga life. Asaloo was inhabited mainly by the Zimi Nagas, called the Aroongs. These Nagas, and the huge area they inhabited, were separated from the mainstream of Naga life and polity. For the sake of administrative convenience, a cleavage was brought about in the Naga people. The way in which this was brought about is a story in itself. In a note (No. 394, dated 20.10.1865) to the Government of Bengal Lt. Col. H. Hompinson, Agent to the Governor General, N.E. Frontier and Commissioner of Assam, wrote that: "Col. Houghton's opinion after visiting Asaloo and examining the Naga Frontier, was that it would be of no advantage even if it were practicable to locate an officer on the frontier of the Naga country and that no compromise was possible, short of asserting our sovereignty over the whole of the Naga Tribes not included within Manipur or Burma, and gradually to bring them to order."

On 26 January 1866, H.A. Eden issued orders which read as: "The Lt. Governor, therefore, desires entirely to support the recommendations contained in paragraphs 30-44 of the letter from Col. Hopkinson and proposes to direct Lt. Gregory to remove his headquarters from Asaloo to Samaguting to abolish Asaloo as Sub-Division."

BOUNDARY ISSUE

Thus, initially the British recognised the traditional bound-

ary between the Ahoms and the Nagas as the political boundary. However, after the British had consolidated their hold in Assam, and managed to subjugate more and more Naga territories, they had to do some re-thinking so as to effectively administer these areas. The need for redefining administrative areas became all the more imperative after the construction of the Assam Bengal Railway in and around 1899. Thus, for the sake of administrative convenience, large portions of Naga territory were transferred to the adjoining districts of Assam in 1898, 1901, 1902-3, and 1923. With the opening up of a larger number of tea gardens within Naga territory, there arose the need to shift the 'Inner Line' deeper inside Naga Hills to exclude the gardens opened in the Naga Hills district. These gardens could then be transferred to the adjoining districts of Assam.

Alexander Mackenzie says:

The rapid extension of tea cultivation along this frontier gave rise to considerable correspondence between 1869 and 1873. The limit of the revenue jurisdiction of Lakhimpore and Sibsagar to the south was, as above, notified, the old frontier road called the Dhodar Allee and Ladoigarh road. Although the Government claimed as British territory the whole country up to the boundaries of Manipur and Burma, it had hitherto treated the Nagas tract as outside Assam for all civil purposes. The tea planters had long since in many places, both in Lakhimpore and Sibsagar, taken up lands south of the revenue line, in some instances paying revenue to us, and in others to the Naga Chiefs. The earlier settlers found it to their interest to conciliate the Nagas, and troubled themselves little about Government protection. But now the fashion claiming police assistance in every little difficulty came into vogue, and the Government had to consider what course it should adopt. The question acquired prominence from a quarrel between a planter and some Changnoi Nagas in Lakhimpore early in 1871, which led to serious apprehension of Naga raids.

At length in 1872 the occurrence of a massacre of Borlangia Nagas perpetrated by Kamsingias with two miles of a tea garden showed that measure for defining clearly the limits of Naga territory towards the plains could no longer be deferred. Under the provisions of the Inner Line Regulation already described, such a boundary was accordingly laid down, compensation being paid to the Nagas for the area occupied by these tea gardens which lay beyond the Inner Line.

A letter from the Chief Commissioner of Assam to the Commissioner of Assam Valley No. 432 Rev. R-3675, dated Shillong, the 3rd August, 1898 says:

At present the greater part of the Rengma, Mikir Hills and the whole of the Nambor forest reserve are included within the jurisdiction of the Naga Hills district, and this arrangement was convenient so long as the headquarters of the district were at Samaguting, but it has become very embarrassing since the transfer of the headquarters to Kohima. Proposals were accordingly made some years ago to exclude this territory from the Naga Hills district, but they were allowed to remain in abeyance pending the extension of the Assam Bengal Railway to this locality. The railway is now approaching completion and the necessity of exercising large gangs of coolies employed on construction works was brought prominently to notice during the last cold weather. Encouragement has also been offered to the extension of tea cultivation in the Mambor Forest along the side of the railway, and if practical effort is to be given to this policy, it is necessary that this tract of the country should be transferred to districts in which the Labour and Emigration Act and other laws and regulations affecting labour and the tea industry are in force. It is with regard to these considerations that the proposals which were submitted by Mr Davis in 1891 (vide correspondence ending with Mr

Wace's letter No. 28118-B, dated the 28th November, 1891) have now been renewed by the present Deputy Commissioner, Captain Woods, practically without any modification.

In another letter No. 822 Rv. R-5648, Chief Commissioner of Assam to Commissioner of Assam Valley said:

Experience has shown that although these tracts could be conveniently administered from Samaguting, it has been impossible to exercise an efficient control over them since the transfer of the headquarters to Kohima.... At present there is work, and important work to be done by an Executive Officer along the railway line...

This proposal would leave jurisdiction over the Assam-Bengal Railway line from Lunka via Lumding up to (but not including Dimapur in the Nowgong District). It would add to Nowgong a further portion of the Mikir Hills and large tract of level and undulating plain country.... any question connected with the extension of tea cultivation could be as easily disposed of from Nowgong as from Golaghat." (Letter from Chief Commissioner of Assam Valley, No. 432, Rev. R-367, dt. Shillong 3.8.1898). The whole of the large reserved Nambor forest would be transferred to that Sub-Division, and also the whole area of the Rengma Hills, which now lies within the Naga Hills District.

....I am of opinion that the boundaries proposed by Dr Davis are the best and cannot be improved upon taking into consideration the convenience of the people who inhabit certain portions of the tracts. In addition to the land which Mr. Davis proposed to hand over to Sibsagar, with the permission of the Chief Commissioner, I now propose to hand over another small portion of land belonging to the Ao Sub-Division, which lies in the plain and is suitable for tea cultivation

.... You will observe that it is further proposed by

Captain Woods to transfer to the Sibsagar district a small tract of country in the Mokokchung Sub-Division, which lies in the plains, and is suitable for tea cultivation. The Chief Commissioner is of opinion that this should be one. (Note of Ae Wood dated Kohima 13 May, 1898).

There is no doubt that the Nagas had been agitating for the restoration of the areas. The first negotiation by the Naga people with the representatives of the then British Indian Government was with Sir Akbar Hydari, the then Governor of Assam in Kohima on 27th to 29th June, 1947.

As a result of prolonged discussions, an agreement known as the "Nine-Point Agreement" was drawn up. It stipulated a modification of the then administrative division by restoring all the forests transferred out of Naga Hills and bring all the Naga inhabited areas under one unified administrative unit. Demand for the restoration of transferred areas and merger of contiguous Naga areas formed part of the "Nine-Point Agreement". This showed that Nagas had never compromised with the transfer and occupation of their lands by Assam.

Again, pursuant to the resolution passed by the Naga People's Convention in August 1957 in Kohima a 16-Point Memorandum was presented to the Prime Minister of India in Delhi in 1960 by a delegation of the N.P.C.

In the course of discussion, the question of creating a separate State for Naga areas emerged and under Point 12 of the Memorandum, the Nagas demanded the return to Nagaland of all the Reserved Forests transferred from the Naga Hills to Assam during the British Regime. Under Point 13, the Nagas put their demand for the consolidation of the contiguous Naga inhabited areas to form a part of the new State.

The Agreement placed on Record was as follows:

Point 12:

The Naga delegation discussed the question of the

inclusion of the Reserve Forest and of contiguous areas inhabited by the Nagas. They were referred to the provisions in Articles 3 and 4 of the Constitution prescribing the procedure for the transfer of areas from one State to another.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA'S INITIATIVE

Recognising the fact that there was serious border problem between Assam and Nagaland, the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, appointed an Adviser to the Home Ministry, Mr K.V.K. Sundaram in 1971 to look into and ascertain the facts of the case. Considering the seriousness of the problem, the Adviser prevailed upon the two states to make four Interim Agreements for the maintenance of peace in the border areas in 1972. But unfortunately, no satisfactory solution was arrived at. As a result of it, on 5 January 1979, a serious border clash took place resulting in the murder of a large number of non-Naga settlers. In the meanwhile, the Government of Nagaland and Government of Assam have issued Memoranda defending their cases about the border disputes.*

However, reports indicate that under the directions of the late Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the Chief Ministers of Nagaland and Assam had reviewed their stand on the boundary issue. It is understood that the two Chief Ministers have decided to follow the policy of give and take. This policy of mutual give and take is likely to foster goodwill on both the sides and ugly events of 1979 will never be repeated.

On 23 May 1964, the late Shri B.P. Chaliha, Chief Minister of Assam said at Sakraba in Chakhesang:

*See at Appendix A and B.

We are neighbours. If there is peace in Nagaland, there will be peace in my State Assam and vice-versa. Our fate is tied together.

This truth is being realised now with greater vigour and sincerity but the recent Merapani* incident has raised some apprehensions about the solution to the whole problem.

*According to reports, several police personnel and civilians died in an armed clash that took place between the Nagaland and Assam Police at Merapani, a border village police checkpost, on the 4th and 5th June 1985.



An old Naga warrior



A Konyak Chief



The Pangsha tribal
chief of Chang
tribe



A historical stone
at Khezakenoma
village sanctifying
the origin of Naga
tribes

Khezakenoma
village, the site of
historical stone



A typical
Naga house



Godhula, the first evangelist
to the Nagas, 1871



Semsalepzung-The first Pastor and Evan-
gelist from Aö Naga Baptist Convention
to Border Tribes (1910-1956)



Dr. & Mrs. E.W. Clark The first Missionary to Nagaland (1872-1911)



A delegation of Naga People's Convention meeting the Prime Minister, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, in New Delhi.



Naga Tribal Chiefs meeting Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru in New Delhi (24th January, 1958)



The first Chief Minister of Nagaland, Mr P. Shilu Ao, calling on the Prime Minister, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, in New Delhi (May 1963)



Mr Nehru's tender care for the Naga children



A warm welcome to the Prime Minister, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, on his first visit to Nagaland (30th March, 1953)



The Prime Minister of India, Pt. Nehru, and the Prime Minister of Burma, U. Nu, being welcomed by the Nagas at Kohima (30th March, 1953)

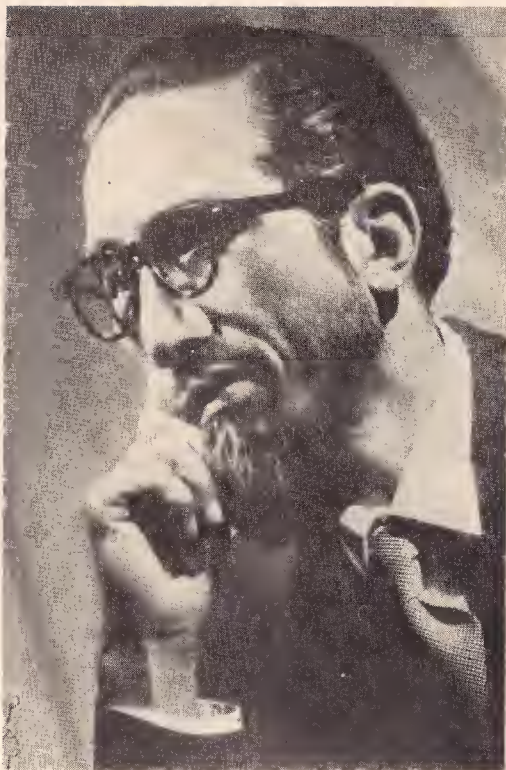
Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and U. Nu with the Naga tribal chiefs



Trophies to the Prime Minister, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Mrs Indira Gandhi is also seen in the picture



Prime Minister of India, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and the Prime Minister of Burma, U. Nu, chatting with Dubashis at Kohima (30th March, 1953)



Mr Angami Zapfu Phizo

Nagaland's Interim Body Councillors, headed by Mr P. Shilu, Ao, with the Governor, Gen. Srinagesh, and Dr Imkongliba, President Naga People's Convention. (Author standing 2nd from right)



The author's first tour to the interiors of Nagaland—in his capacity as a Councillor (Yekhum 7th June, 1961)



A welcome to the Philosopher on the occasion of the formation of the Statehood for Nagaland at Kohima (1st December, 1963)



Members of the first Nagaland Legislative Assembly



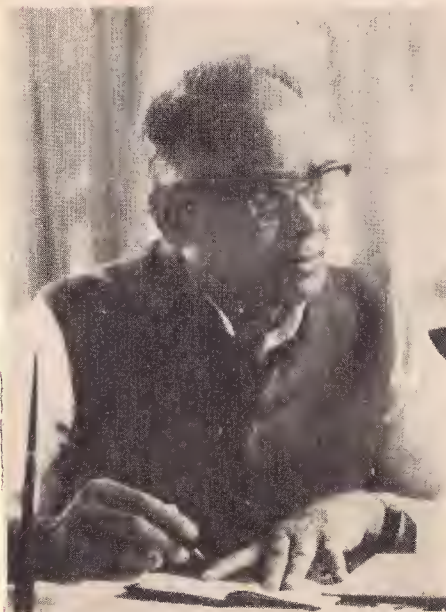
Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, President of India, formally inaugurating the sixteenth State of Union of India

First Council of Ministers of Nagaland, headed by Mr P. Shilu Ao, with the President of India, Dr S. Radhakrishnan, and the Governor of Nagaland, Mr Vishnu Sahay. (The author is standing 1st in the left)





Church Peace Convention Mission with Rev. Michael Scott
(28th March, 1964)



Mr Jayaprakash Narayan at the
Peace Mission Table



Shri B.P. Chaliha, another
stalwart of the Peace Mission

Government representa-
tives and the Underground
representatives with the
Peace Mission Members

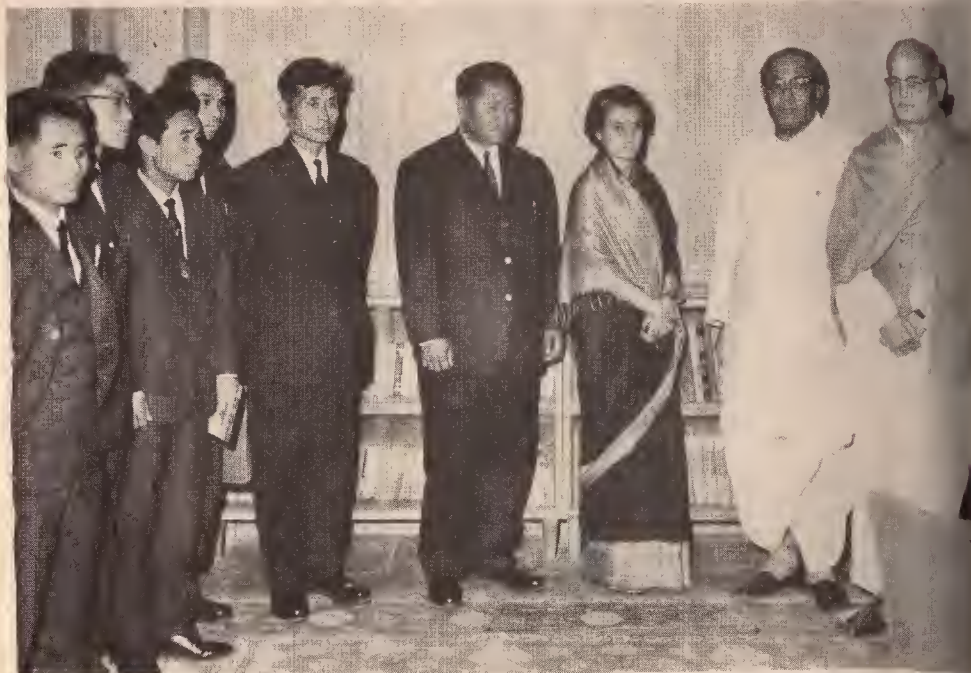


The Parliamentary
Delegation in
Nagaland



The author touring the
village during the
periods of turmoil





The Underground Delegation along with the Peace Mission Members meeting the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, in New Delhi, (18th February, 1966)

The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, holding one of the six rounds of Peace talks with the Underground delegation and Peace Mission leaders in New Delhi

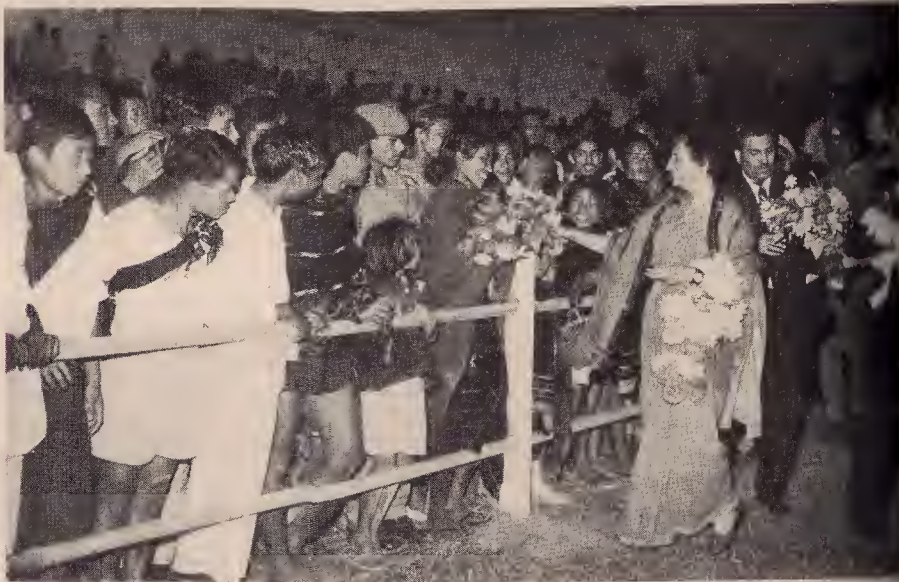


An affectionate welcome to the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, on her visit to Nagaland. (24th September, 1969)

Chapter 5

EMERGENCE OF NAGALAND

NAGA HILLS DISTRICT



An enthusiastic crowd cheering up the Prime Minister,
Shrimati Indira Gandhi

The ruthless suppression of all Naga attempts to preserve their independent existence was accompanied by a gradual annexation of Naga land by the British. Through subtle means like sending in survey parties, acting as overlords in inter-tribal affairs, and by establishing well defined boundaries, the British set about the task of consolidating their position in this area. In 1866 the Naga hills area had been formed into a separate district under a Lieutenant Governorship. At first its Headquarters were situated at Samaguting and later they were shifted to Kohima in 1878.

Among the other changes that were brought about was the inclusion, in 1874, of the Naga Hills district into the new Chief Commissionership of Assam. This year Assam had just been separated from Bengal and constituted into a Chief Commissionership. The same year the Naga Hills district was declared a 'Scheduled District' under the Scheduled Districts Act, 1874. Under this declaration the Naga Hills district was excluded from the general operation of laws prevailing through the rest of British India, and now it could be administered as a non-regulation district. The ostensible purpose was to implement special plans for its development and for preservation of its customs and culture. In fact it was a part of the 'divide and rule' policy of the British.

The High Court at Calcutta had a very restricted and limited jurisdiction over this district. It was confined to such criminal cases in which European British subjects were

involved. The codes of civil and criminal procedures were also not applicable to this area. The powers of life and death were exercised by the District Commissioner subject to confirmation by the Chief Commissioner. The Deputy Commissioner, during his tours, settled the disputes between tribes and generally supervised the area with a view to advising the government regarding the administrative policy to be formulated and followed.

Generally speaking, however, the policy of the Government was to interfere as little as possible with the local customs of the people. Land revenue was not assessed but a uniform tax at the rate of Rs 3 per house was levied on the Angami Nagas. From the other Nagas the rate was Rs 2 in lieu of land revenue. This difference in tax was due to the fact that whereas the Angami Nagas had permanent terraced cultivation, the other Nagas had shifting cultivation.

The Government's policy of non-interference had many implications. On the one hand the Government desisted from interfering in the local customs, rituals, and way of life. On the other hand, this policy also prevented any programmes of development from being formulated or implemented. For example, there were no high schools in the Naga Hills district and little or no emphasis was being given to the important sphere of education. The census of 1901 showed that only 1.37% of the people were literate (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 284-295). Thus, while the Government was eager to hold sway over the Naga tribes, yet it was least concerned about the economic, social or political upliftment of the people, even though such a concern could solve many of the problems which the Government faced from the Naga tribes.

The Government's desire to extend its administrative control was again obvious in 1875 when a sub-division was opened at Wokha in order to exercise control over the Lotha Nagas. To spread its administrative control over the Eastern Nagas and also to be able to reach the Patkai ranges through the Naga Hills, the new Mokokchung sub-division was set up

in 1890. A.W. Davis, ICS, was appointed as the first sub-divisional officer.

Administratively, the Government found it convenient to attach the Naga Hills to the province of Assam. In 1905 when Assam and East Bengal were formed into separate Lieutenant Governorship, the Naga Hills continued to be a part of the Assam province. Again in 1912 Assam was reconstituted. Now it was placed under a Chief Commissioner. The Naga Hills continued to remain as a district under this Chief Commissionership and they also retained their status as a Scheduled District. Then again in 1919 the Government of India Act, 1919 came into being. Assam was now reconstituted as Governorship. The Naga Hills continued to be a part of this Governorship. The only change now was that the Naga Hills were declared to be a 'Backward tract' within the province of Assam and under the Government of India Act, 1919. Under Section 52(A)(2) of this Act, the Governor-General of India could decree that any Act passed by the Indian Legislature would not be applicable to the Naga Hills district. Alternatively, any such Act would be applied only after being subject to such qualifications and modifications as might be prescribed. The Governor-General could also empower the local Governor to give similar directions in respect of the Acts passed by the local legislature. Further, the power of the Governor-General in Council to legislate for the Naga Hills district by Regulation (Under Section 71 of the Government of India Act, 1915) also continued.

EXCLUDED AREA

The next change in the position of the Naga Hills district came on 3 March, 1936, with the promulgation of the Government of India (Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas) Order, 1936. Under the provisions of this order, the Naga Hills district was declared as an 'Excluded Area' within the province of Assam. Although the Naga Hills were

declared to be an excluded area, yet the executive authority of the province of Assam extended to these hills. This was under section 92 of the Government of India Act, 1935. Thus the Governor had the discretion to exercise the functions of his office in all matters relating to the hills district. The Governor, under the same section (para 2) could make and enforce regulations for the peaceful and proper governance of the hills district. Further, no Act of the Federal or the Provincial Legislature could apply to the Naga Hills district unless the Governor directed this through a public notification.

Thus, the constitutional position of the Naga Hills district, which comprised the present Chakhesang, Wokha, Zunheboto, Kohima and the Mokokchung districts, until the 15th of August, 1947, was that of a regular district within the province of Assam. In 1974, the State was further reorganised into seven districts by dividing (1) Kohima into Kohima and Phek, (2) Mokokchung into Mokokchung, Wokha and Zunheboto, and (3) Tuensang into Tuensang and Mon. It is amply clear that the inexorable processes of history had ensured the Naga Hills district an integral place within the erstwhile British India.

CONTROLLED AND UN-CONTROLLED AREAS

These historical and geographical compulsions can further be revealed in the other administrative measures taken in this area. The Naga Tribal Area, as it was known prior to 1947, lay between the regular Naga Hills district of the province of Assam and Burma. Sir Andrew Clow, a former Governor of Assam gave a Memorandum to the Government of India regarding the importance of a responsible attitude towards the Naga Tribal area. This Memorandum, which was published in 1945 by the Assam Government Press, states inter-alia: "The Naga Hills Tribal Area is the only statutory tribal area in Assam at the moment. It is the responsibility of the Central Government, which acts

through the Provincial Government, as its agent." The Naga Tribal Area, for the purposes of effective administration, was divided into 'controlled' and 'uncontrolled' areas. The 'uncontrolled' areas were left unadministered mainly for two reasons. Firstly, these areas were largely inaccessible to the British and therefore, from the point of view of strategy or economic importance, the British considered these areas as effort-wasting areas. Secondly, the British wanted to keep these areas insulated from the influences of the plains. However, the area of 'control' continued to be extended so that the 'un-controlled' areas gradually dwindled in size. The Government of India, in pursuance of the proposals of the Government of Assam, through their letter of January 30, 1937, sanctioned the extension of the controlled area so as to include Pangsha, Sanglao, Noklak, and other Kalu-Kengnyu (Khimungan) villages with effect from January 1938.

The administrative responsibility for the 'controlled' areas of the Naga Tribal Area was vested in the Sub-Divisional Officer at Mokokchung. This officer was also responsible for seeing that the 'uncontrolled' areas remained insulated from the 'controlled' ones. He had to ensure that the inhabitants of the 'uncontrolled' areas remained within their limits; and in case they transgressed their boundaries, or misbehaved in any other manner, due penalties were to be imposed upon them. By 1947 the limits of the 'controlled' area were practically co-extensive with the whole of the Naga Tribal Area. Its boundaries now coincided with the boundaries of Assam and Burma. The administrative powers and functions of the Governor of Assam vis-a-vis the Naga Tribal Areas were prescribed in the Notification No. I-X, dated 1 April 1937. These were incorporated in Vol. V of the Supplement to the General Statutory Rules and Orders of the Enactments of British India. This notification reads as follows:

In exercise of the power conferred by Sub-Section (I) of Section 123, read with sub-section (3) of Section 313, of the Government of India Act, 1935, the Governor-

General in Council is pleased to direct the Governor of Assam to discharge, as his agent, in and in relation to the tribal areas beyond the external boundaries of the province of Assam, all functions hitherto discharged in and in relation to the said area by the said Governor, as Agent to the Governor-General, in respect of the political control of the trans-border tribes, the administration of the said areas and the administration of the Assam Rifles and other armed civil forces.

Thus it was found expedient and necessary by the Government of India to vest the administration of the Naga Tribal Areas with the Governor of Assam. The Governor of Assam exercised his administrative control over this Area with the help of the Assam Rifles, a para-military force, and other armed civil forces which were stationed and functioning in this tribal area. Thus the form of administration in this district was unlike that in other regular districts in the rest of India. This was due, not only to the difficult geographical conditions of the area, but also to the specific nature of the Naga tribes inhabiting this area.

NAGA HILLS: INTEGRAL PART OF INDIAN DOMINION

India became a Dominion, by virtue of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, passed by the British Parliament. In this context it is significant to note Section 2(1) of this Act. It provided that all the territories of British India which were under the sovereignty of His Majesty, except such territories which were designated as 'Pakistan', would on the appointed day, become the territories of India. As these administrative units had all along been an integral part of British India, therefore, the Naga Hills district, under the provisions of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, became an integral part of the Dominion of India.

Here it would be pertinent to add that even under Section 311 of the Government of India Act, 1935, the Naga Tribal

Area was a part of India. It was then administered under Section 123 of the Government of India Act. This area is the existing Tuensang area. With the enactment of Indian Independence Act, 1947, the rights, powers, and obligations of His Majesty with regard to the tribal areas, were passed on to the Dominion of India, under Section 7(1)(c) of the Indian Independence Act, 1947. It emphasises the historical, political, administrative, and constitutional bonds of the Indian Union and the Naga people. This is further clarified when we cast a glance at the process of the course of Western dominance over Asia. It was a gradual process which was undertaken by the British in several stages. At different times and in different ways, the British conquered and subjugated different parts of the Indian subcontinent. Their *modus operandi* varied from place to place, and often it depended upon the specific nature of the ethnic group, political system, or religious beliefs. Of course, there was no dearth of such groups, systems and beliefs in the subcontinent, and the Nagas were one such unit in this diversity. Thus their subjugation was no different from that of other areas and groups of the Indian subcontinent.

However, the strong current of Nationalism, which had knitted together the multi-coloured diversity of India, came to the fore when the struggle for independence began. From 1920, under the aegis of the Indian National Congress, and the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the diverse and varied people of India representing different linguistic, cultural, ethnic and religious groups, came together in a show of solidarity and unity to fight against the foreign colonial power. Thus the subliminal bond of fundamental unity flowered into a powerful consciousness of nationhood.

Though this common struggle against colonial subjugation welded the people of the Indian subcontinent together, yet there were some groups whose involvement in the movement was peripheral and not direct. The Nagas were one of these groups. This was due not only to the peculiar geographical conditions of the Nagas, but also due to the

fact that the British had studiously kept the Naga people secluded from the mainstream of India.

NAGA CLUB

In the meantime a movement was taking roots in Kohima. This movement was started by the Nagas who had returned from France after World War I. During World War I, a Naga labour force went to France to support the allies. This force consisted of 1,000 Semas, 400 Lothas, 200 Aos, 200 Rangmas, and a large number of smaller groups. This trip to France and back shattered many of the illusions that the Nagas had about the superiority of other races, particularly the whites. On their way to France their ship met with an accident. While the Nagas, with their customary fortitude and equanimity, took this accident casually in their stride, on the other hand, hundreds of others, including the British, the Chinese, and the Ceylonese, were badly shaken. In France, the Nagas were used as a labour force for carrying loads and building roads. They were not used for the purposes of fighting. However, the experiences of these Nagas in France shattered their illusion of the British prowess. On their return to their homeland, these Nagas decided to form a Naga association, which was called Naga Club. This Club sought to solve the problems of the Naga people with the British through talks and consultations across the table. In the beginning this Club consisted of old soldiers, government officials, and Dobashis. Apart from their political activities, this Club also ran cooperative stores in Mokokchung and Kohima. They also formed a football club which inculcated great love for this game among the people and produced many players of great renown. Notable among them being the National Captain Dr T. Ao (1948).

Among the challenging and demanding tasks facing Indian statesmanship was to infuse a stronger sense of participation and involvement in the freedom struggle in the groups and tribes of the North-East. For years these tribes

had remained insulated, isolated and backward. During the British regime their participation in the full citizenship had been retarded or ignored for various reasons. Now was the time for the Indian Leadership to give these people their rightful, complete, and integrated place in the historic processes that were shaping out a new destiny for the people of this great subcontinent. Now was the time to realise that the non-involvement of any group in India's tryst with destiny would have the horrible consequences of regression and withdrawal symptoms. This realisation remained dormant during this crucial period due to the pressures of quick moving events.

ATTITUDE OF THE BRITISH

During the last years of the British rule, when it became quite clear that they would have to leave soon, the British revealed a compulsive show of sympathy for these tribes. They began showing great concern, anxiety and solicitude for the backwardness and the isolation of the Nagas. It was conveniently forgotten that this situation of the Nagas was the express creation of the British themselves.

When the independence of India became a concrete reality, the British officers in India began to pursue the above line of isolation and segregation, even more vigorously. They proposed, in various forms and ways, that the British administration should continue in the hill areas. They even envisaged a merging together of the tribals of the Assam area and the tribals living in Burma in order to form a 'Crown Colony'. The proponents of this 'Crown Colony' idea used the age-old emotional leverage of their 'moral obligation' towards the protection and welfare of tribals. This proposal, however, was not accepted by the authorities in England. This did not dampen the spirits of the Britishers advocating separatism in India. They then proposed that the tribals be formed into a separate State or some extra-Constitutional arrangement be included in the treaty of Independence of

India for the protection of these 'backward' people.

Lord Wavell, the then Viceroy, effectively discouraged all such ideas. His view was that the Provincial Government should retain their administrative responsibility, and that the Central Government might give grants, undertake inspections, and receive periodic reports. Lord Patrick-Lawrence, the then Secretary of State for India, accepted these views of Lord Wavell. It was also realised that the attempt of the Indian Government to consolidate their country would be quite different from that of the alien rulers. One strong nation, united, secular, and democratic, would ensure a better deal for the tribals. Enlightened leaders like Nehru, Patel, and above all Gandhi, would assure a bright future for all sections of the Indian people.

The impression of a separate 'Crown Colony' was, in fact, becoming so strong that the Government of India found it necessary to issue a press note to counteract this impression. This Press Note said:

The attention of the Government of India has been drawn to allegations that schemes are under consideration for the separation of the Assam hill areas from India and their constitution into a separate Colony or State. There is no truth in these allegations and no such scheme is being considered. Nor is there any intention, at present, to create a new Hill Province. The creation of a new province would require Parliamentary legislation and no such proposal would be considered prior to the convening of the Constituent Assembly.

Later the officers of India and Burma met and decided that the hill areas of Assam should continue to be administered by the Governor of Assam, but subject to some separate provisions in respect of both the legislative and executive functions. Further, it was decided that the tribal system of local self-government was to remain as the basis of governance and would be extended by the formation of Tribal Councils etc.

When Sir Andrew Clow, Governor of Assam, visited Mokokchung in January 1947, he met the leaders of all the northern Naga tribes and made it a point to explain the coming constitutional changes to them. It is interesting to note the words in which he presented the case: "The British Raj is being withdrawn shortly, and the future Government of India, including Assam and its hills, will be a matter for the peoples of the land to decide. The Constituent Assembly, which is charged with working out the plans for the future, has already started its work in Delhi, and it will have to consider, in due course, the position of the hill peoples. They should, therefore, themselves be thinking over the question and form their own conclusions regarding what they want. It is not practicable for the Naga tribes or even the Nagas as a whole to set themselves in a separate State or states (as some of them want) or even as a (separate) province of India. If they did they would always remain poor and backward and could not supply even the inadequate services they already enjoy. They would, therefore, be well advised to seek to form part of the province, but to retain matters of local concern in their own hands. Even in the plains, many matters of local concern are run by the people of the district concerned, and here, where their custom and culture differ so much from those of the plains, they could reasonably claim a larger sphere for local authority, including control of their own land and conservation of such authority as is traditionally theirs."

They should approach the question not only from the point of view of what they can get, but of what they can give. The hill peoples of Assam have a very full understanding of the idea of democracy, fuller indeed than that prevailing in some other parts of India, and they will, as education is developed, be able to take a share, not only in the Government of their own hills, but of the province, and it is hoped, of India as a whole.

All this, of course, was said by Sir Andrew Clow with the concurrence of the Viceroy. The Naga leaders were also told that in the absence of their representation on the Constituent Assembly, they would be given an opportunity to meet the Advisory Committee of the Constituent Assembly. This would enable them to present their views before the Committee.

NAGA NATIONAL COUNCIL

A new direction in the turbulent political conditions during the Quit India Movement in 1942 was given by the Naga Club. Under this change it was formed into the Naga National Council. The ostensible purpose of this Council was to foster and nurture the welfare of the Naga people. However, there were strong political under-currents in this Council, which subsequently turned into a political organisation.

This Naga National Council submitted a four-point memorandum to the Cabinet Mission. These points were:

1. This Naga National Council stands for the solidarity of all Naga tribes, including those in the unadministered areas.
2. This Council strongly protests against the grouping of Assam with Bengal (This resentment was due to the fear that this might lead to their lot being cast with Pakistan under the proposed Zonal system of grouping).
3. The Naga Hills should be constitutionally included in an autonomous Assam, in a free India, with local autonomy and due safeguards for the interest of the Nagas.
4. The Naga tribes should have a separate electorate.

T. Sakhrie, who was one of the ablest and most trusted of Nagas, and also held the position of the Secretary of the Naga National Council, signed this memorandum. It is an unfortunate measure of Sakhrie's intense nationalism that he was allegedly murdered by Phizo's followers in January 1956

because he became a stumbling block in the path of Phizo's conception of independence and his views on the use of violence to achieve political ends.

NEHRU'S CONCERN FOR THE TRIBALS

When Jawaharlal Nehru took over the reins as India's Prime Minister, he was one person who had given serious thought to the problems of the tribals in India. However, he was not going to push through any changes in the tribals by the use of force, directly or indirectly. In one of his speeches, Jawaharlal Nehru, while thinking aloud, said: "I am alarmed when I see not only in this country but in other great countries too how anxious people are to shape others according to their own image or likeness, and to impose on them their particular way of living. We are welcome to our way of living, but why impose it on others? This applies equally to national and international fields. In fact, there would be more peace in the world if people were to desist from imposing their way of living on other people and countries. I am not at all sure which is better way of living, the tribal or our own. In some respects I am quite certain theirs is better. Therefore, it is grossly presumptuous on our part to approach them with an air of superiority, to tell them how to behave or what to do and what not to do. There is no point in trying to make them a second rate copy of ourselves."

Elsewhere, Pandit Nehru lays down something of a charter for the tribal people and the tribal areas.

These avenues of development should, however, be pursued within the broad framework of the following five fundamental principles:

1. People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture.
2. Tribal rights in land and forests should be respected.

3. We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will, no doubt, be needed especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.
4. We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to, their own social and cultural institutions.
5. We should judge results, not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved.

Later, in 1962 there were arguments on the name 'Nagaland'. Someone objected to this name saying that it sounded very much like "Thailand". Nehru's answer to this objection was: "If the Thais can have a 'Thailand', why should the Nagas not have a 'Nagaland'? They want it. Let them have it."

The solicitous concern of Pandit Nehru for the Naga people was again in evidence in February 1947. The Naga National Council in a memorandum expressed more or less the same views as they had done in their four-point memorandum of June 1946. Jawaharlal Nehru sent Sir Akbar Hydari, the Governor of Assam, to discuss the matter with the Naga leaders. The Governor assured the Nagas that the successor Indian Government had no sinister designs on the Naga people. The Naga people, he said, would be treated like any other people of the rest of India. What was more, special efforts would be made to safeguard the Nagas from exploitation from outside and also provide them with full opportunities for development along their own particular way of life and genius.

NINE-POINT MEMORANDUM

The policy of the Government of India was to allow

maximum autonomy to the Naga people; as much as could be consistent with the integrity of the country's frontiers. To this end, a nine-point memorandum, presented by Naga National Council was accepted by the Governor, and later the Chief Minister of Assam, after consultation with the Naga leaders. These proposals also included some administrative measures to be taken, and were duly ready in June 1947 for presentation to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Jawaharlal Nehru readily accepted this memorandum.

This memorandum, or agreement, began by saying that the "right of the Nagas to develop themselves according to their freely expressed wishes is recognised." The first two provisions then related to judicial and executive matters. These provisions stipulated that all cases, whether civil or criminal, arising between Nagas in the Naga Hills, were to be disposed of by duly constituted Naga courts. These cases were to be tried according to Naga custom and law, or such law as would be introduced, "with the consent of the duly recognised Naga representative organisations. There was to be a right to appeal to the Governor, where the sentence was transportation or death." While the district officers were to be appointed at the discretion of the Governor, the sub-divisions of the Naga hills were to be administered by sub-divisional councils with full-time executive presidents, paid for by the Naga National Council. With regard to agriculture, the Naga National Council was to exercise all the powers hitherto vested in the district officers. The Naga National Council was to take full control of the PWD, and the council was prepared to pay for all the services of staff of the Education and the Forest Department. As is very apparent from the provisions of the nine-point agreement, the envisaged structure of administration was neither very complicated nor too sophisticated.

In order to further preserve and protect the entity and individuality of the Naga people, certain provisions were laid down in the legislative portion of the Agreement. These provisions stipulated that any law, passed by the provincial

or the central legislature, which materially affected the religious beliefs and social practices of the Nagas, would require the consent of the Naga National Council before becoming a law. Any dispute regarding the question whether any law did affect the agreement would be referred to the Governor, and no such law would be enforced till the decision of the Central Government was obtained.

The natural habitat of the Naga people was also sought to be protected from outside interference. The Agreement said that "land with all its resources" was not to be alienated to non-Naga people without the consent of the Naga National Council. Further, it was made the duty of the Naga National Council to impose, collect and make a proper expenditure of "land revenue, house tax, and such other taxes, as may be imposed by the Naga National Council."

Regarding the boundaries of the area, this Agreement contained important provisions. It was envisaged that the boundaries of the existing administrative divisions were to be modified so as to bring back into the Naga Hills district all the forests transferred to the Sibsagar and Nowgong district in the past. All these were to be brought under one unified administrative unit as far as possible.

Regarding the boundaries of the district, the Naga National Council added an annexure to the agreement. In this annexure they laid claim to a number of tea gardens and forest reserves in Assam. The annexure, after making reference to the historical situation of the district, says that the ancient boundaries with the Ahom Kingdom, which ran from the Dikhu river in the vicinity of Naganimara and Nakachari, should be restored. The Government had accepted, in principle, that the boundaries should be modified by saying: "The present administrative divisions should be modified."

There were also two minor provisions pertaining to the continuance of the Indian Arms Act and the Chin Hill Regulations, as also to the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulations. The last provision generated a lot of debate in the

years to come and came to be known as the Ninth Point. This provision said that for a period of ten years the Governor of Assam, as the Agent of the Government of India, would ensure the observance of this Agreement. At the end of this period of ten years, the Naga National Council will be asked whether they required the above Agreement to be extended for a further period, or a new agreement regarding the future of the Naga people be arrived at.

The intentions of Governor Hydari Ali and Prime Minister Nehru, who had blessed and accepted this Agreement, obviously was that after a period of ten years the Nagas would be free to choose for themselves the precise pattern of administration, within the Constitution of India, which was still to be formulated. The Constitution was to give shape to the Naga demands in this Agreement or Memorandum so that the Nagas could decide for themselves vital questions concerning the mode of their functioning within the Indian Union. They could decide, for example, whether they would join the district of the plains of Assam or unite with other contiguous areas such as Manipur. However, the provisions of the Ninth Point created great confusion. The Naga extremists claimed that the provision of the Ninth Point gave to them the right to even secede from India and to establish for themselves a sovereign Independent State.

All the safeguards provided for the Naga people in the Nine-Point Agreement have been incorporated in the Constitution of India as the Sixth Schedule. This Sixth Schedule was arrived at by a Committee of the Constituent Assembly. This Committee was headed by the Premier of Assam G.N. Bardoloi, and its co-opted members consisted of important tribal representatives of the Naga people. This Committee toured the North-Eastern tribal area extensively and on the basis of their observations and discussions formulated the document which was to become the basis of the Sixth Schedule. While all Naga demands contained in

the Nine-Point Agreement were included in this Schedule, yet the confusion created by the conflicting interpretation of the Ninth Point of the Hydari Agreement continued to exercise and agitate the minds of the Nagas.

PHIZO

The confusion regarding the Ninth Point afforded an opportunity to Phizo, who was just emerging as a new leader, to further his own leadership designs. He began to make emotional appeals to the masses to seize power, because, according to him, the Government of India had gone back on the Nine-Point Agreement. The politics of grievance and consequently to that of confrontation, became the hallmark of the extremist. In order to involve the masses, rational and logical situations were emotionalised by presenting an image of a hurt or insulted pride of the group.

In order to allay these apprehensions, the Governor of Assam and the Chief Minister of Assam addressed a communication to a deputation of Naga leaders who had met them in June 1948. This communication said:

A deputation of Naga gentlemen have come to Shillong to receive a written assurance from H.E. the Governor of Assam and the Hon'ble Premier, Assam, to the effect that the agreement reached between His Excellency and the Naga leaders in June 1947, will be implemented. The deputation was given the assurance by both that there was never any question of non-implementation of the agreement. A misunderstanding has appeared to have arisen in the minds of a certain section of the Naga people that the agreement of June 1947 was nullified by the provisions laid down in the Draft Constitution. It was explained to the deputation at length that the Draft Constitution was in no way inconsistent with the agreement. On the contrary, it prescribed the machinery whereby the agreement might be translated into action. If, however, there still remained

any doubt or apprehension in the minds of the Naga people regarding the validity of the agreement, H.E. and the Hon'ble Premier were prepared to give written assurance that has been asked for. They have been pleased to do so, accordingly, and both have appended their signatures on this document as a token of the assurance they have been asked to give.

The above statement would have become all the more meaningful and substantive had it been followed by some concrete steps to remove the suspicions of the Naga leaders regarding the Sixth Schedule. However, immediately after the attainment of independence, the grim aftermath of the Partition, followed by Pakistan's invasion of Kashmir, created problems of such magnitude that the suspicions of the people of this small, remote area obviously took a secondary place. This unfortunate lapse was to have serious consequences, some of which were apparent during Jawaharlal Nehru's tour of Kohima in 1953. Pandit Nehru personally assured the Nagas that the Government of India had consistently followed a liberal policy, and that any defects in the Sixth Schedule could be rectified and its provisions modified so as to bring about the maximum autonomy. Yet, by now, the cankerous weed of suspicion had taken deep root, and the Nagas remained unconvinced. To aggravate the problem, Naga representatives were not allowed to approach Nehru in order to hand over a memorandum. The Nagas were used to an easy access to the administration and this refusal by some nervous and over-wrought officials added fuel to fire. The result was that the entire non-official audience left the meeting ground in protest. Thus, a woeful lack of appreciation and understanding of the Naga mind compounded by the arrogant behaviour of the local officers deepened the political deadlock.

To begin with, and till 1953-54, this political non-communication and lack of positive interaction, was non-violent in nature. The absence of a common wavelength

gave further impetus to the politics of grievance and the symptoms of withdrawal. By now the extremist leader, A.Z. Phizo, had achieved a position of almost unchallenged supremacy among his colleagues. His strong emphasis on Naga rights and aspirations, coupled to his intense projection of a hurt Naga psyche, won him many followers. The Nagas led by Phizo began to express their dissatisfaction with the Sixth Schedule in very strong terms. They boycotted not only the District Council Elections in 1951, but also the subsequent General Elections in 1952. To keep the record straight it must be mentioned that not a single vote was cast.

THE UNDERGROUND

As the agitation gained momentum, the Nagas resorted to Civil disobedience, taking their cue from the pre-independence Indian politics. However, as soon as it became very apparent to the Naga National Council that the Government had no intentions of considering their demand for 'independence', the agitation acquired the ugly hue of violence. By 1954 armed violence, murder, arson, looting, and kidnapping, had become quite common and widespread. In March 1956, the hostile Nagas established a 'Naga Federal Government'. They also hoisted their flag at the Pheninsyu village, in the Rengma area. A Constitution was also drawn up. It envisaged a parliament of 100 Tatars (members of Parliament) and a Kedahge (President) with a Cabinet of 15 Kilonsers (Ministers). In addition to this, Governors of various tribal areas, Magistrates, Deputy Commissioners and other officials were appointed, after the manner of the new administrative setup.

The Naga Home Guards formed themselves into an army. They began using the badges of rank, uniforms and terminology of the Indian Army. Apart from this army, or rather in addition to it, the Naga hostiles, by 1956, had built up a guerilla force of about 3000 men. Now they intensified

their campaign of terrorism. The villagers, for one reason or the other, cooperated with them and provided them with money, rice, and other essential supplies, without which they could not have thrived the way they did. The increasing terrorist activity forced the Indian Government to call in the Army. The Army was however instructed to function strictly as an aid to the civil power. They were ordered to use the minimum possible force and to provide the maximum possible protection to the peaceful villagers. In spite of the presence of the Army, the activities of the terrorists continued unabated. They could easily collect information about the movement of the troops and could attack them at a place and time of their choice. When the terrorists were hard-pressed by the Army, they had the advantage of being able to merge with the villagers and lose themselves among them. The villagers hardly ever betrayed the terrorists. This could be because the villagers were afraid of the terrorists but the fact also remains that there was hardly any love lost between the villagers and the armed forces.

Ultimately it was the villagers who, speaking metaphorically, were caught in the cross-fire between the hostile Nagas and the armed forces. The villagers were the real victims of the Naga hostilities as well as the army action. The saner element among the leadership, especially the elders, began to realise and also propagate the futility of the campaign of violence. Some of the rebel leaders, who had never reconciled to Phizo's violent ways, resigned from the Naga National Council in 1955. They were Shri T. Sakhrie, Shri J.B. Jasokie, Shri T.N. Angami etc. T. Sakhrie paid for the strength of his conviction with his life at the hands of the terrorists.

PEACE EFFORTS

Deeply pained at the ugly consequences of the growing grim violence, some liberal leaders, village elders, took the lead to bring about an end to this conflict. They sought to achieve

a satisfactory solution to the Naga problems through peaceful negotiations. The result of this was that a major thrust towards peace was initiated. One manifestation of this thrust towards peace was the formation of the All Tribes Naga Peoples Convention. This Convention comprised delegates and representatives of all the Naga tribes of the erstwhile Naga Hills—the Tuensang area—which today is the state of Nagaland. The All Tribes Naga Peoples Convention held three meetings. These meetings were very well attended and even though the hardcore hostile Nagas had officially boycotted these meetings, many of their observers were seen attending these.

The first meeting was held in August 1957 at Kohima. In this meeting over 2200 people were present. The main resolutions passed were the demands for (i) a satisfactory political settlement and solution of the Naga problem within the Union of India, and (ii) the constitution of a single administrative unit of the Naga Hills district of Assam and the Tuensang Frontier Division of the North East Frontier Agency, under the Ministry of External Affairs.

The second meeting was held at Ungma in May 1958. This meeting went a step further than the first one and appointed a liaison committee. This committee was given the agenda of trying to contact the underground Nagas and to win over their support for the Naga Peoples Convention. This move, though very laudatory in its intentions, failed to achieve any success. The underground Nagas insisted that the only basis of any negotiation was the recognition of the 'Naga Federal Government' and the acceptance of their demand for 'independence'. The Convention leaders, having reached an impasse with the underground Nagas, decided to go ahead with the appointment of a Drafting Committee, which would then formulate their demands.

The third meeting, which was held at Mokokchung in October 1959, made further headway. This meeting was an even greater success in terms of sheer numbers when over 3000 representatives and individuals attended this conven-

tion. During this meeting a 16-point memorandum was drawn up which envisaged the constitution of a separate state—called Nagaland—within the Indian Union. This state would be under the Ministry of External Affairs, have its Governor, Council of Ministers, Legislative Assembly, and an administrative secretariat. This memorandum was formally handed over to the Governor of Assam in Shillong in April 1960. In July 1960, a delegation of the Naga Peoples Convention met the Prime Minister at Delhi. As a result of this meeting the Government of India agreed to the demand for a separate State within the Indian Union.

According to the 16-Point Agreement of July 1960, there would be a three-year transitional period before the formation of a State of Nagaland. During this period representatives would be elected from every tribe in Nagaland. These representatives would form an Interim Body which would assist and advise the Governor in the administration of Nagaland. Under the promulgation of Nagaland (Transitional Provisions) Regulations 1961, this Interim Body was inaugurated in Kohima on the 18th February 1961. This Interim Body functioned effectively for two years. This was despite intense hostile and violent activity, like raids, arson, and murder, organised by the Federal Government of Nagaland from their jungle hideouts.

STATEHOOD FOR NAGALAND

In December 1963, much before the stipulated time, these interim arrangements came to an end and a full-fledged democratic state within the Indian Union came into being. This was the State of Nagaland, the sixteenth State of the Indian Union. It was created under the State of Nagaland Act, 1962, with necessary modifications in the Constitution of India. In order to inaugurate the new State, the President of India, Dr. Radhakrishnan, made a special trip to Kohima. Dr. Radhakrishnan's visit was the result of an interesting dialogue between Mr P. Shilu Ao, Chief Executive Council-

lor, and Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, when the former came to meet the latter in Delhi. This dialogue went as follows:

Nehru: The Interim period is for three years?

Shilu: Your gesture to end it much before the time will be well received.

Nehru: But the violence continues and the hostiles are untractable.

Shilu: Leave it to us to deal with our own kith and kin. I will request you to inaugurate the State.

Nehru: I shall send our philosopher-statesman to inaugurate the State. He is a holy soul. His blessing shall bring peace and amity.

The inaugural function of the new State of Nagaland was a colourful function held at the Football Ground in Kohima on 1 December 1963, and presided over by Dr S. Radhakrishnan, the President of India. The function was lent a festive air by the presence of thousands of colourfully dressed Nagas representing different tribes. Wishing the brave people of Nagaland a bright future, Dr Radhakrishnan said: "Let all past rancour and misunderstanding be forgotten and a new chapter of progress, prosperity and goodwill be written on the page which opens today." He also expressed the hope that the fulfilment of the hopes of the people of Nagaland would now be conducive to a rapid return to normalcy. He also extended an invitation to those Nagas who were still not reconciled to the new conditions to come forward and play positive and meaningful role in the development of Nagaland. The President also called upon the administrators to relate to the people in a warm and humane manner so as to provide a healing touch to the Naga psyche. He wanted them to assist the Naga people in the proper celebration of their innocent joys through their songs, dances, feasts and festivals.

The President wanted to ensure that the resources of Nagaland are developed to the fullest extent. For this purpose there might be need for assistance from the Centre.

The President assured the people that such assistance would be available to the Naga people in full measure. He felt that now it was up to the Nagas to take the maximum advantage of the opportunities and vistas opening out in front of them and become actively involved in building up a progressive and prosperous India.

CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS

Along with the formation of the State of Nagaland, certain measures were also taken to provide for the specific conditions prevailing within Nagaland. Prominent among them was the amended Article 371-A of the Constitution of India. It provided safeguards for the religious and social practices of the Naga people according to their traditional and customary law and usage. It also made provisions for the protection of ownership of land and its resources. Due to the comparative backwardness of the Tuensang district, the Constitution provided for its administration by a Governor for ten years from the date of formation of the State of Nagaland. During this period any Act of the Nagaland Legislature could apply to Tuensang only if the Governor, on the recommendation of the Regional Council, directed it by Public Notification. The Governor was also empowered to make regulations to repeal or amend, if necessary, any Act of Parliament, or any other law, which was for the time being applicable to this district. All this was to ensure the rapid progress of this backward area and to bring it on par, not just with the rest of the state but with the rest of the country.

Chapter 6

PUBLIC JUBILATIONS AND THE PEACE AGREEMENT

FORMATION OF STATE GOVERNMENT

The inauguration of Nagaland as the sixteenth State of the Indian Union on December 1, 1963, vindicated the stand taken by the Naga Peoples' Convention. It was a recognition and justification of the viability of the views expressed by the Convention under the leadership of its President Dr Imkongliba Ao and Shri P. Shilu Ao, the first Chief Minister of Nagaland. After the installation of the Interim Body and the Executive Council in 1961, the Chief Councillor, Shilu Ao, alongwith four of his Councillors, J.B. Jasokie, Chiten Jamir, Akum Imlong and myself, visited New Delhi and called upon the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The team assured the Prime Minister that the grant of Statehood to Nagaland was the step in the right direction as it would not only be welcomed by the Naga people but would also undermine the influence of the Underground Nagas. They added that the formation of the State much before the specified date would boost and inspire the forces of peace to make more strenuous efforts towards the restoration of law and order in the area. The delegation also assured the Prime Minister that adequate steps would be taken to ensure that no trouble be created during the inauguration ceremony. During the discussions on the relationship between the State and the Government of India, I emphasised the fact that this relationship has to be built on an understanding of each other leading to mutual

confidence and goodwill. I told the Prime Minister that the Nagas would not appreciate half-way measures. Either the Government of India should repose complete trust and confidence in the Naga people or it should give up the pretence of trust. Pandit Nehru replied that he had full trust and confidence in the Naga people and would give all help to establish the State Government of Nagaland as early as possible.

The leaders of the Naga Peoples' Convention firmly felt that in order to move towards the realisation of the Naga Dream, there must be a complete stoppage of bloodshed and the suffering of the people. In order to do this, the leadership needed some leverage in the form of some concrete political offer to be made to the people as a token of the desire for understanding and goodwill. This would not only create a congenial atmosphere for securing the support and sympathy of the overground Nagas, but could also lead to a persuasion of the Underground Nagas to give up their violent ways and to accept the realities of the situation. The offer of Statehood to Naga people went a long way in providing this leverage and token of goodwill. It must be said to the credit of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that he, in spite of great opposition within and outside the Parliament, was convinced of the wisdom of offering a separate State to the Nagas. It was due to his efforts that the State of Nagaland, with sufficient safeguards, came into being.

PUBLIC JUBILATIONS

The spontaneous welcome given to Dr S. Radhakrishnan, the then President of India, and his party, by the 16 tribal representatives of the Nagas, exceeded all expectations. Over 10,000 Nagas in their colourful costumes, shining shields, glittering spears, flowing hornbill feathers and bright-shash, had lined up on the 3-mile route from the high school helipad to the Raj Bhavan. They expressed their happiness through songs, dances and shouts of joy. The

speech of the President of India was received with great joy and shouts of acclamation. The Nagas did not use the conventional form of clapping hands to express their approval, they did it with full-throated shouts and long-piercing cries of joy. As the applause swelled and grew, the hills vibrated as the sound resounded high and low. This ovation must have lasted for more than four to five minutes after the President had taken his seat. This was followed by the ceremonial presentations from all the tribes. During this period a Konyak fired a muzzle loading gun, jumped high and shouted: "Long live our President". The cue was taken and the slogan shouting was repeated from one corner to another. The wonderful December weather of Kohima in the form of the beauteous natural surroundings, lent its grace and charm to the scene.

Later on, the Governor, Shri Vishnu Sahay, at a meeting of appraisal made a mention of the extraordinary and profuse expression of genuine and spontaneous emotion of the people. He said, "I had my reservations when I was assured that the Nagas in general would welcome the formation of the State as they were keen to settle down and rebuild their devastated socio-economic life." He also referred to the large number of the Underground Nagas who too had joined the inauguration function. They had come incognito, perhaps to gauge the public reaction to the statehood. During the inauguration celebrations the contingents from the Sema, Lotha and the Tuensang areas, were very conspicuous by their numbers and their enthusiasm.

REACTION OF THE UNDERGROUND

The whole-hearted welcome to the statehood by the Nagas elicited an immediate reaction among the Underground leaders. The Phizo group immediately called an emergency meeting to discuss the situation arising out of the weakening of their hold on the insurgency. They were perturbed over the fact that the fighting arm of the Underground from the

Semas and the Tuensang areas was parting company from them. Shilu was considered to be too crafty and parochial and capable of influencing the Aos thereby leaving Chakhesang and the Angamis in the lurch. While no body wanted the insurgency to prolong any further yet it was difficult to ignore Phizo and his followers. The refusal of the Tuensang group to join in the meeting of the Underground was also taken as a sign of their having accepted the reality of the Statehood. Moreover Shri Akum Imlong, the representative of this group, had flatly refused to lend them any support. As the Underground Nagas found themselves becoming increasingly isolated, they also began to realise that Phizo had little chance of staging a come-back. However, they did not want to betray the oath taken by them when Phizo had left to arrange for outside intervention for their independence. They also knew that if Shilu and his party won the majority in the elections then the return of Phizo would become an impossibility. Consequently, taking into consideration all these factors, the Underground decided that either the elections should be got postponed or before the elections took place Phizo should be involved with some sort of parleys for an overall solution to the Naga issue. With this end in view they evolved an effective strategy. It was given out that Phizo was ready to return to Nagaland to declare a unilateral ceasefire. It was also said that Phizo had offered to have talks with the Government of India.

Mr S.C. Jamir, who was then the Union Deputy Minister, strongly objected in Parliament to any meeting between Phizo and the Prime Minister over and above the heads of the Shilu Government. He also conveyed the same views to me. I fully supported his stand and in this context wrote to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru about it. Jawaharlal Nehru's reply to my letter was:

No. 807-PMH/63, dated 1. April 1963.

Dear Shri Hokishe Sema,

Thank you for your letter of the 25th March which I was

glad to read. We have been appreciating the efforts made by you and your government to bring about peace and progress in Nagaland. I fully agree with you that these efforts are bound to succeed. We have gone as far as we possibly could in the formation of Nagaland. The future lies in the hands of the Nagas themselves and this is as it should be.

I sent a message to Phizo in answer to his letter to me through Rev. Michael Scott, not because of any exaggerated notion of Phizo's importance in the circumstances, or because we were at all panicky about the conditions there. We are sure that we shall be able to deal with it adequately. I sent my message to him simply because I have seldom refused to meet any person whoever he might be. But in sending my message to him, I said that I could only meet him if previously law and order was fully restored in Nagaland and further that the existing structure in Nagaland was accepted; we could not change it. I also informed Michael Scott that whatever steps we would take would be in consultation with and with the approval of the present government of Nagaland. On no account could we bypass that government. I said so, because I was anxious that the prestige of your government shall be kept up and further that we should act according to your wishes.

You will thus notice that I did not act in any way which might be deemed derogatory to your government. Whatever we may do in regard to Nagaland will be done after consulting your government.

I send you my good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

(Jawaharlal Nehru)

DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

While these discussions were going on, the Election Com-

mission announced the dates of the election to the new Nagaland Assembly. At this moment an interesting development took place. Within a week of the announcement of the election dates, Shri A. Kevichusa, a retired IAS officer, announced the formation of a political party called the Democratic Front. I strongly felt that it was too early for the Nagas to fight elections on the basis of political parties in the face of the tribal divisions and the Underground problems. The system of Tribal Representatives was doing very well and it could have continued till the problems posed by the Underground were satisfactorily solved. At the same time, the formation of the Democratic Front was a tactical move calculated to keep the doors open for Phizo's return if they won the elections. Even if they failed to win the elections, they wanted to create a situation which would undermine the successful functioning of the Administration.

As the election dates had been announced and the Democratic Front had entered the fray, we were left with no alternative but to form a counter political organisation. The name that we gave to this organisation was the Nagaland Nationalist Organisation (NNO). We drafted the Constitution of the NNO on the lines of the constitution of the All India National Congress. This name was chosen from the point of view of the appeal to the Naga people. The comprehensive propaganda that the Democratic Front had as grist to its mill was the demand for the independence of Nagaland and the involvement of Phizo in Naga affairs. On the other hand, the NNO pledged for peace and economic progress of the Naga people.

Ten days before the elections, on the 31st December, 1963, a meeting between the Government of Nagaland and Phizo was fixed at the behest of Phizo. Shilu Ao, the Chief Minister of Nagaland, issued a statement on 4th January, 1964 regarding the proposed meeting and he called this meeting "a ray of hope". He hoped that with Phizo's coming to India for negotiation with the Nagaland Government, peace would be restored to the area. Shilu's purpose in

issuing this statement was to ensure that the 1952 boycott of elections was not repeated by the Naga people. He also wanted to show to the Nagas that Phizo, in accepting to talk with the Nagaland Government, had in fact accepted the legality of the Nagaland Government and also the fact that this State was an integral part of the Indian Union.

On the part of Phizo it was a last ditch attempt to re-establish his hold on the Naga people. In this effort he was strongly supported by Church Leaders headed by Reverend Longri Ao as well as a very vocal Angami and Chakesang public. When the announcement of the meeting was made, it was hailed by the Church Leaders and the Kohima public. Many were too dazed to even believe that the grounds had been prepared for such a meeting. It was thought by many that this was a chance for Phizo to make a triumphant return to Nagaland. However, it all turned out to be an exercise in futility because Phizo did not come. The Democratic Front, which had set great store by Phizo's return, was in complete confusion. They fought the election hoping against hope that Phizo might come any time and swing the tide in their favour. The NNO managed to secure a number of unopposed returns to the Assembly, and I was one of these. However Shilu faced a stiff fight from the Democratic Front. Finally, the Democratic Front won 12 seats and the NNO won 28 seats. Tuensang had 20 seats as their share, according to population, but under the Special Provision they did not go to the polls but sent their 6 representatives through the Tuensang Regional Council.

CHURCH CONVENTION

Had the Democratic Front won they would have, first of all, invited Phizo, thereby causing considerable embarrassment to the Central Government. This would also have created a new turmoil in Nagaland. However, the Naga people through their opinion at the polls, prevented any such disaster from taking place. Yet, the matter regarding Phizo's

proposed peace talks had not come to any conclusion. Therefore, while Shilu was forming his Ministry, the pro-Phizo Nagas raised the Phizo peace talks issue through the Church Leaders. Five thousand delegates, including the Church Leaders met at Wokha from 31 January to 2 February 1964, to attend the Third Nagaland Baptist Convention. After lengthy deliberations, the following resolution was adopted:

Being deeply concerned about the restoration of peace in Nagaland the Convention welcomes the proposed peace talks between the Government of Nagaland and Mr A.Z. Phizo. While welcoming the peace-talks we are deeply concerned about the continued disturbances in the land, and therefore, this Third Nagaland Baptist Convention attended by more than 5,000 representatives from all the tribes of Nagaland unanimously resolved to request the Government of Nagaland, and through it, the Government of India, to open further avenues for making available the services of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, Shri Shankar Deo, Shri Bimla Prasad Chaliha and Rev. Michael Scott, with the sole object of exploring ways and means for the speedy restoration of peace and normalcy in Nagaland and that Church Leaders of Nagaland be requested to give every possible help and co-operation for the success of the Mission.

Prime Minister Nehru gave his consent and blessings to the setting up of a Peace Mission. The Church Convention Resolution received total support from all sections of the Naga people. This resolution was unanimously adopted by the Nationalist Organisation (Ruling Party) at its General Session held at Dimapur. On 13 March, 1964, the Government of Nagaland passed the following resolution:

- (a) that efforts be made to open every possible avenues to negotiate for such a talk, giving full opportunities to all sections of the public of Nagaland in mobilising the

- public opinion, to prepare the spade-work making the proposed talk a success with the sole object of restoration of lasting peace in Nagaland;
- (b) that the leaders of the Nagaland Baptist Convention be urged to take immediate initiative to prepare the groundwork tapping the feelings of the Underground people for a joint peace talk with a view to put an end to that problem; and
 - (c) that the Underground people be urged to consider the matter of peace talks seriously and to respond readily to the call of the people to put all their efforts to create a congenial atmosphere and healthy climate for the peace talk.

To supervise and implement the above resolution Government of Nagaland took another decision to constitute a peace committee and the following members were selected:

Mr P. Shilu Ao, Chief Minister; Mr Tochi Hanso, MLA; Mr T. Kikon, MLA; Mr Yeshito, MLA; Mr Shangnyu Konyak, MLA; Mr Wezulhi, MLA; Mr Vizol, MLA; Mr Tajen Ao, MLA and Mr Bendangangshi Ao, MLA.

The NNO leaders hoped that by opening avenues for the holding of peace talks, they would get a chance of exercising some influence on the Underground and of extending their hold over them. The Church Leaders wanted that the talks should be held under their auspices. They also wanted to include certain third parties in the talks. Shilu objected to this and also to the mention of Phizo as the sole spokesman for the Underground Nagas. Further, he insisted that the talks be held with the Government of Nagaland within the scope and framework of the Indian Constitution. On the 13th and 14th March 1964, a special meeting of the Baptist Convention was held at Kohima. There a resolution was passed expressing satisfaction at the keen response of the Naga public towards the peace moves and decided to

send a cable to Mr A.Z. Phizo asking for his cooperation for the implementation of the Convention's resolution. It also resolved to request the Government of Nagaland to relax all Army operations to enable free movement in Nagaland and to send letters to top-ranking Underground leaders urging them to desist from activities that would hamper the success of the peace talks. This Committee further resolved that Rev Longri Ao, Rev Shihoto Sunhetho, Shri Kenneth Kerhuo and Shri Toniho Chishi would represent the Nagaland Baptist Convention to negotiate with the representatives of the Naga Federal Government regarding the peace talks. Finally, the Committee resolved to appeal strongly to all citizens of Nagaland to extend their cooperation and moral support for the success of the proposed peace talks.

PEACE MISSION

Ultimately the Peace Mission comprising of Shri B.P. Chaliha, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, and Rev. Michael Scott was constituted with the help of the Baptist Church Leaders and others. This Peace Mission was expected to serve as an impartial mediating body which would bring the contending parties together around the conference table and help them to solve their problems and differences through reasoning and understanding. However certain parameters were clearly demarcated. This was expressed by Rev Longri to Rev Scott in his first meeting with him at Dimapur on the 26th March 1964. He told Rev Scott very frankly that the Nagas could not break off their traditional links with India. Hedged between Manipur and Assam, almost landlocked, the Nagas could hardly exist without a deep understanding and friendship with India. The wisdom and vision given by God combined with nobility of action would help the Nagas solve their problems by placing them in the proper perspective vis-a-vis the peaceful, cooperative and understanding relationship with the rest of the country.

REV. MICHAEL SCOTT

Regarding the involvement of Rev Michael Scott in the peace efforts and his arrival in Nagaland, I had from the very beginning entertained serious reservations. My misgivings about Rev Scott had crystallised during one of Rev Scott's earlier visits to New Delhi. He had come to meet Shri P. Shilu at the Hyderabad House in New Delhi. Shri S.C. Jamir, Shri Chiten Jamir, and I were with Mr Shilu then. I told Rev. Scott, that Phizo had created fissures and bloodshed in Nagaland causing untold hardship and miseries and then he had run away from Nagaland. Phizo, I said, must come back and solve the problems created by him in order to win the respect of the people. If he chose to stay away from Nagaland, I added, then he had no right to speak on behalf of the Naga people. In his reply to me, Rev Scott added that as the Indian Government was the successor government to the British Government therefore the House of Lords and the House of Commons had every right to have their say on the Naga issue. Shri S.C. Jamir then replied, that the House of Lords and House of Commons had no right to interfere in the affairs of Independent India.

My misgivings were further strengthened when Rev Michael Scott and Shri B.P. Chaliha came to Kohima on 4 April 1964. Here they addressed a huge meeting along with a few Church leaders and Shri Kevichusa. In this entire affair the State Government was neither consulted nor associated in any way. On the other hand, it is pertinent to note, Kevichusa was invited to address the meeting. In an 8-page cyclostyled address he made a strong plea to "start all over again". By this he meant that the State Assembly be dissolved and the State Government be done away with. His argument was that the present government was composed of Government officials and unless the opposition group was associated in the task of reconstruction, no permanent solution was possible. He went to argue that the first task in the State was to establish peace and then to seek political solutions.

The day after this meeting, Rev Scott addressed a few villagers from Kohima and told them, "Phizo has sent me to see that your aspirations are met and peace returns to your beautiful country." When a few days later he went to meet Shri Scato Swu, the President of the Underground, he met with a rebuff. Scato Swu asked Scott to leave them alone. "You Britishers have betrayed us. When matters were in your hands you discarded us and now your conscience has started pricking you. Neither will Phizo come nor will we accept his solution. He and Shilu both started the trouble. Now both have to be sidelined." For the first time perhaps Scott understood that though Phizo was the President of a political party, it was Scato who was the President of the Federal Government of Nagaland and that all the powers were in his hands. Scott was embarrassed. When he told the Church leaders about his experience with Scato, he was told by them that Scato was under the influence of Hokushe Sema. They also told him that the differences between Phizo, Kaito, Kughato, and Scato were in the knowledge of public, but the aim of both the factions was the same, that is, attainment of independence.

NEGOTIATION WITH THE UNDERGROUND

The Peace Mission, with the help of the Baptist Church leaders, met the Underground leaders and discussed with them the steps to be taken to bring about the suspension of hostilities. The Underground Nagas laid down three conditions for the suspension of hostilities and for holding talks: First, the Government of India should suspend all patrolling by its troops not only within Nagaland but also along the international border. On their part, the hostile Nagas would also cease their patrolling. Secondly, the Underground Nagas would hold talks only with the Government of India and not with the Nagaland Government led by Shilu Ao. They did not recognise the Shilu Ao Government and did not even want its representation in the talks. Thirdly, the

Underground Nagas wanted the talks with the Government of India to be held in the presence of an observer from a foreign country. Further, there would be a cease-fire during the period of the talks.

For one and a half month, negotiations went on regarding the conditions laid down by the Underground Nagas. Finally the Peace Mission reached an agreement with the Underground Nagas at Sakrabama in the Chakhesang area, which was signed on 25 May 1964 by Shri J.P. Narayan, Shri B.P. Chaliha, and Rev Michael Scott on the one hand and by Biseto Medon, Zashie Hurie, Hokiye Swu and Suletsu on the other hand. According to this agreement the Underground Nagas assured that no arms would be imported from other countries during the peace talks. They also agreed not to press their demands for the presence of international observers during the early stages of the talks because the Government of India had accepted the principle of an impartial witness by allowing one member of the Peace Mission to be a Britisher. The agreement further stated: "On the understanding that the terms communicated to us by the Peace Mission will constitute an agreement with the Government of India, with whom negotiations for a lasting settlement will take place, we agree on behalf of the Federal Government of Nagaland as from date to be decided, to suspend all forms of violent activities." The agreement further stipulated that this relaxation would be declared for an initial period of one month from the agreed date, after allowing 15 days for all concerned to be informed of the terms and conditions of the cessation of operations. It further envisaged that the agreement would subsequently be extended to cover all areas inhabited by the Naga people in Manipur, Cachar Hills, and the North East Frontier Agency. In the terms of this agreement, the Government of India was required to give an assurance to suspend activities like jungle operations, searching of villages, imposition of political fines, aerial action, patrolling beyond 1000 yards of security posts, and the raiding of the Federal army positions

and administrative camps. The Underground also agreed to suspend snipping, ambushing, kidnapping, recruitment, firing at security posts, towns, administrative centres, imposition of fines, and other acts of subversion and sabotage. During the period of the cease-fire, the protection of convoys, columns, administrative centres and towns, would continue as usual but in order to avoid the possibility of any clash there would be no patrolling in the international border area. The road protection parties would also cease to operate during the cease-fire. The Underground Nagas assured that they would cooperate in preventing any violation of the Frontier during the cease-fire period. The concluding part of the agreement stated: "We the members of the Peace Mission undertake to forward the above agreement to the Government of India and to do all in our power to ensure its faithful fulfilment by both sides."

The Shilu Ao Government found the terms of the agreement to be wholly unacceptable as they were intended to undermine its duly constituted authority. Its reactions were conveyed to Shri B.P. Chaliha, who was expected to present them to the Government of India during his talks with them. It was also stated that the proposal to suspend patrolling along the international border was mainly designed to enable the rebels to indulge in gun-running from Pakistan (now Bangladesh) with impunity. It was also felt that this would enable the bands of Naga hostiles who were in East Pakistan at that time to enter India with ease. There were also serious objections to the use of the word 'cease-fire' by the Underground. The Minister for External Affairs, Shri Swaran Singh, clarified in the Parliament that the expression 'cease-fire' had not been used at all and what was mentioned were the terms and conditions for the suspension of operations in Nagaland.

After examining the terms of the agreement, the Government of India suggested certain amendments and modifications. It did not recognise the Naga hostiles as the Federal Government of Nagaland, as they had styled themselves.

Further, the Government of India suggested that the Government of Nagaland headed by Shri P. Shilu Ao be associated in the talks with the Underground Nagas. The Government of India also made it very clear that it would not stop patrolling the international borders. It further clarified that it had not accepted the presence of international observers at the negotiating table; the presence of Rev Michael Scott was due to his membership of the Peace Mission and not because of his British nationality.

The amendments suggested by the Government of India were unacceptable to the Underground Nagas. In order to sort out matters the Peace Mission tried to hold another meeting with the Underground leaders at Kohima. In order to attend this meeting the Underground leaders demanded that they be assured safe conduct directly from the Government of India. Such an assurance from the Chief Secretary of Nagaland was not acceptable to them. However, at the instance of the Church leaders, who had been working behind the scenes for a cessation of hostilities, the Underground Nagas agreed to accept the safe-conduct passes issued by the Governor of Nagaland.

While these negotiations were going on Rev Michael Scott without consulting the other members of the Peace Mission wrote a letter to the Prime Minister outlining certain proposals. He advocated for an independent observer in the peace talks and he also suggested that the Indian troops be withdrawn from Nagaland for a period of one year and their place be taken by a neutral force obtained from India's friendly neighbours. Rev Michael Scott held meetings with the Underground Nagas of which the other two members of the Peace Mission were kept ignorant.

The Government of India found Rev Scott's proposals implying interference by outsiders in the internal affairs of the country unacceptable. Hence these proposals were turned down. During this period, Shri J.P. Narayan and Rev Scott came to my house and in the course of our discussions Rev Scott asked me whether the status of

Puerto Rico in America would be acceptable to the Nagas. I told him that the first and foremost task of the Peace Mission was to bring the Underground leaders to the Conference Table for peace talks between the Underground Nagas and the Government. Any talk of political status at this stage would confuse the issues and in any case it was for the Underground to spell out their understanding of political status.

Finally the Government of India authorised the Governor of Nagaland to negotiate an understanding with the hostile Nagas towards the suspension of their violent activities so that the peace talks could be held as early as possible. Shri Vishnu Sahay, the then Governor of Assam and Nagaland sent a letter to the Peace Mission on August 14, 1964, on behalf of the Government of India, setting forth terms and conditions as well as the date for the cessation of operations in Nagaland.

AGREEMENT WITH THE UNDERGROUND

At last an agreement was reached between the Underground Nagas and the Government of India through the good offices of the Peace Mission. This agreement, known as the 'Ceasefire Agreement' was signed by Shri Vishnu Sahay on behalf of the Government of India, and Shri Zashi Hurie Angh of Zapfu State, Shri Biseto Medon, Lota-Kilonser and Shri Zhenito Tatar on behalf of the Underground Nagas. Under the terms of the agreement the Special Powers of the Armed Forces as well as the Nagaland Security Regulations would be withdrawn from the 6th September, 1964. Under the good offices of the Peace Mission, it was decided to begin the peace talks between the Government of India and the Underground Nagas on September 23, 1964. The State Government was not to be a party to the peace talks but the Chief Minister of Nagaland, Shri P. Shilu Ao was to be a member of the Indian Government delegation to the talks. Moreover the Govern-

ment of Nagaland was helping the Government of India and the Peace Mission in every possible way to create the right kind of atmosphere conducive to fruitful talks between the two parties. With the signing of this agreement a long period of uncertainty, vacillations, unproductive manoeuvrings, and futile wranglings came to an end and the stage was set for moving forward towards an era of peace and goodwill.

Chapter 7

PEACE TALKS WITH THE UNDERGROUND

PEACE TALKS ACROSS THE TABLE

On 23 September 1964 the peace talks began with the first meeting at Chedema near Kohima. The Government delegation consisted of Shri P. Shilu Ao, Chief Minister of Nagaland, Shri Y.D. Gundevia, Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, Brigadier D.M. Sen, Advocate General to the Government of Nagaland, and Shri Uma Nath Sharma, Chief Secretary to the Government of Nagaland. Shri N.F. Santok, Deputy Secretary to the Union Government was another member of this team but he did not attend this meeting. The team of the Underground Nagas comprised of Shri Issac Swu, Foreign Secretary to the Underground, Shri Zashie Huire and Shri Thinuchielie, a Brigadier of the Underground Forces. Others who were present in this meeting were the members of the Peace Mission and leaders of the Baptist Church Council.

The meeting began with an objection from the side of the Underground delegation. They objected to the inclusion of the Chief Minister of Nagaland, Shri P. Shilu Ao, in the Government delegation. Shri Y.D. Gundevia, the leader of the Government delegation, referred to the letter dated 29th August of the Underground 'Home Minister' in which he had agreed that his earlier letter of 10th August and the letter from Governor dated 14th August, constituted an agreement on the suspension of operations. In the Governor's letter it was clearly stated that the representatives of

the Nagaland Government would be included in the Indian Government delegation. It was only after lengthy discussions and long delay that the Underground Nagas reconciled to the presence of Mr P. Shilu Ao as a member of the Government delegation. However, they accepted him only as a member of the Government delegation and not as a representative of the Nagaland Government which they did not recognise. At the same time the Underground Nagas were told that though the Government had accepted their delegation and was talking to them, it did not recognise their Federal Government.

In the meeting on the 1st of October, 1964, Shri Issac Swu asserted that India and Nagaland were two different nations living side by side. He added that they had come to Chadema to exchange opinions and views as to how to establish friendship between these two nations. Such a friendship, he said, would go a long way in establishing peace not only between the two nations, but also in South East Asia and throughout the whole world. Shri Gundevia, in reply to Shri Issac Swu's two-nation theory, emphasised that India and Nagaland were in fact only one nation and the integrity of Nagaland with the rest of the country had to be understood at all levels. He further pointed out the fact that the Indian Constitution incorporated in it the Nine-Point Agreement, including the special provisions aimed at ensuring the preservation of tribal identity in the forms of its practices, laws and customs. Further, the Indian Government was committed to the constitutional provision that tribal lands would not be alienated and non-tribals would not be allowed to purchase property in tribal areas. Thus, Shri Gundevia pointed out the fact that in many ways the tribal areas were enjoying an autonomy which was not to be found in other parts of the country. Shri Gundevia told the Underground Nagas that their separatist demands were not only impractical but also retrogressive. The Nagas, he pointed out, did not have infrastructure to support the basics of a sovereign state like the army, the legislature, and the

administration. It was difficult for the Nagas to bear the cost of the day-to-day necessities of life and so to think of being able to support the appendages of a nation would be building castles in the air. Moreover, he told them that they were fortunate in having the affection and support of Pandit Nehru whose party enjoyed a two-thirds majority in Parliament. Thus they could be sure of getting the best possible terms from them. Finally he added that the differences between them were only the differences of understanding. In fact, he said, both the parties had a similar conception of the welfare and the future of Nagaland.

Mr Chaliha, who was present in the meeting, was requested to say a few words and he said: "Naga demand for independence was a genuinely held belief and when the Indian Government did not find it acceptable it too probably had strong reasons for it." He added that the Indian Government was committed to the good of Naga people. He also hoped that the delegates from the Underground would make their points very clear in the future. He expressed the hope that a mutually acceptable solution would emerge after open and clear discussions.

When the peace talks resumed on October 12, Shri Zashi Huire submitted a statement outlining the requirements to be met in order to establish peace and to pave the way for a political solution between the Underground Nagas and the Government of India. For this purpose, it would be necessary to take the following steps: (1) The closing down of all concentration camps; (2) Withdrawal of Indian Armed Forces from Nagaland; and (3) Release of all political prisoners in Nagaland. Shri Gundevia replied that under the Indian Law, there was no question of there being any 'concentration camps' in any part of India, including Nagaland. Regarding political prisoners he said that no one was under unlawful confinement—some were under lawful conviction while others were awaiting trial. However, the release of such prisoners could be considered when a peace settlement had been arrived at. As for the presence of the

armed forces in Nagaland, he said that once peace was restored it would no longer be necessary to deploy security forces for the purposes of maintaining law and order. However, to carry out their duties on the international boundaries, these security forces would continue to be used.

At this stage, the Peace Mission proposed to both the parties to make a declaration renouncing the use of force for settling the political conflict. If such a declaration is made then it could lead to the laying down of arms by the Underground Nagas, and the Government of India could also then withdraw its troops from Nagaland. Shri Gundevia added that if the arms of the Naga Underground could be disposed of in safe custody then it would not be necessary to keep the Indian Army in Nagaland except for its duties on the international border. After discussion for two days on this issue the proposal for the renunciation of force was accepted by both the parties in principle. The Peace Mission was entrusted with the task of drawing up a detailed workable plan for the disarmament of the Underground forces and for the withdrawal of the Indian Security Forces from Nagaland. On the 16th October 1964, the Peace Mission sent its scheme to both the delegations. According to this scheme the delegation of the Government of India were asked to submit a plan for the withdrawal of the security forces and the Underground Nagas were asked to submit a list of arms and ammunitions in their control and also submit a plan for depositing these arms and ammunitions in safe custody.

On the 10th November Shri Gundevia was informed that the Underground suggested that the Indian Security Forces should move out of Nagaland first and then a political settlement could be reached. Shri Gundevia made it very clear that the Security Forces would move out as soon as a political settlement was reached and not before the arms and ammunitions of the Underground were deposited in safe custody. The Peace Mission had envisaged a situation in which the Underground Nagas' arms would be deposited in

safe custody and the Government of India would agree to withdraw their Security Forces so that a proper atmosphere be created in which a political settlement could be arrived at.

RELUCTANCE OF THE UNDERGROUND

The peace talks were resumed on 11th November 1964. Now the Underground Nagas went back on their commitment to lay down their arms. Shri Gundevia also complained that, in contravention of terms of their peace agreement, the hostile Nagas were parading their arms in villages. He stated that under these conditions he could not see how any political settlement could be formulated. On the 14th November 1964 the leader of the Government delegation again wanted the Underground to define their concept of 'independence'. The Government felt that much development works had been accomplished and much was in progress. Yet, if the Underground Nagas were dissatisfied it was for them to state in clear terms what they wanted. He also said that mere slogans and empty words were nothing but generating so much of hot air. Shri Gundevia appealed to the Underground to come back and work for the good of the people of Nagaland and also to stop the meaningless bloodshed and destruction of property.

The Underground, in reply, wrote to the leader of the Government delegation that the Naga people had never been conquered by anyone including the Indian Army; they had never been a part of India nor ruled over by any Indian Government. The Government of Britain had never transferred their rights as conquerors to India. The letter went on to refer to the principle of national self-determination upheld by the UNO which alone could lead to the emancipation of people from imperialism and colonialism. The letter continued to say that by dubious devices of legal history it could be argued that the sovereignty of the Naga people was transferred to India by virtue of the Acts of the British Parliament. As the Naga people were not repre-

sented in this therefore such an interpretation would not be in accordance with moral rights, with the experiences of history or with the concepts of sovereignty as accepted by international jurists. In conclusion it states:

If this is denied, let India herself in the name of justice and peace submit this case (a) to the International Court of Justice or (b) let any nation in the United Nations which is interested in upholding the rights of people to self-determination, submit this matter to the International Court for an advisory opinion or an adjudication on a matter which must surely be a matter of great consequences to humanity in the necessary task of bringing the rights of people within the scope of the Rule of Law and of bringing the right of self-determination of deprived peoples within the reach of those people through peaceful proceedings. Whatever the outcome of our long political conflicts with India, at such cost, when peace and friendship is attained, the rights of small peoples everywhere will still require to be vindicated. To this end our struggle whether by war or law will, we trust, have played some part.

SUSTAINED PEACE EFFORTS

When the peace talks began again on 28th November 1964, Shri Gundevia said that they were meeting to discuss 'what was right' and not 'who was right'. Further, they were to arrive at a consensus regarding "what is best for the betterment of the people of Nagaland." He added, "If we are talking about peace and we want a peaceful solution then why should you, during these peace talks, send people over to Pakistan, a country unfriendly to us, and why should you want to buy arms." He was referring to the large groups of Underground hostile Nagas who had crossed over to Burma on their way to then East Pakistan.

The peace talks on 22nd December 1964 were held at

Khensa near Mokokchung. During these talks the Peace Mission put forward its proposals while adding that they were aware that their suggestions were not only the most just and fair, yet, under the given circumstances, they appeared to them to be the only practical ones. The proposals of the Peace Mission were something to this effect:

While the Peace Mission fully agrees with and endorses the principle that all subject peoples have the right to self-determination and that no group of people is competent to rule over another, it also has to invite the attention of the Nagaland Federal Government to certain historical processes that had taken place to give birth to the Union of India and to the emergence of the great concepts and ideals underlying the Union Constitution. The British had conquered, at several stages and in diverse manners, various parts of the Indian subcontinent, comprising different ethnic groups, political systems and religious beliefs. However, under the aegis of the Indian National Congress and since 1929, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, these various different peoples representing diverse linguistic, cultural, ethnic and religious elements came together against foreign colonial rule and developed a consciousness of nationhood. Unfortunately, this common struggle against foreign imperialism that had welded these diverse peoples in the Indian subcontinent into one nation did not somehow have an appreciable impact on the Nagas. This was no doubt, due to the policy of isolation and exclusion so deftly practised by British rulers who believed in creating pockets contrary to each other and hoping to rule in perpetuity by dividing the peoples. In any case, this great national movement of unification which freed India, including Nagaland, from the yoke of foreign rule did not bring within its embracing sweep the Naga population to the same extent as it did the other parts of the subcontinent. Thus in 1947, when all the

diverse peoples of India who had been brought under British rule, voluntarily agreed to form the Union of India and to share in the common endeavour to ensure that in this great Union the ideals of fraternity, liberty, justice and equality, as enshrined in the Constitution are fully achieved for the common benefit of all, the same response and sense of participation was not noticeable in the Naga areas. The Peace Mission appreciates the desire of the Underground Nagas for self-determination and their urge to preserve their integrity. It also appreciates the courage and tenacity displayed by the Naga people in their endeavour to achieve their goal. The Peace Mission thinks that some appropriate meeting point had to be found where the aims and ideals of the Nagaland Federal Government can be achieved and at the same time, making it possible for the Government of India to accept these within the framework of the political settlement to be mutually agreed upon. The Peace Mission expresses its desire that both the Government of India as well as the Nagaland Federal Government should consider seriously whether such a meeting point can be reached. On the one hand, the Nagaland Federal Government can on their own volition decide to be a participant in the Union of India and mutually settle the terms and conditions for that purpose. On the other hand, the Government of India can consider to what extent the pattern and structure of the relationship between the Nagaland and the Government of India should be adopted and recast so as to satisfy the political aspirations of all sections of Naga opinion.

The Peace Mission reiterates that the peace now obtaining in the Nagaland should be made everlasting. With that object in view, the Peace Mission had offered certain suggestions, whereupon both the parties had unequivocally affirmed and declared that they would renounce war and violence as a means for political settlement. This declaration of renunciation of war and use of armed forces, it is earnestly emphasised, must not

be deviated from by any means. The Peace Mission's proposal, following this bilateral declaration of renunciation of war, to deposit all underground arms in safe custody and to withdraw all Indian Security Forces from law and order duties could not unfortunately be implemented. Nevertheless, the Peace Mission would earnestly desire that in faithful pursuance of the declaration of renunciation of use of armed forces, both parties take concrete steps to remove all frictions. There have been numerous complaints and counter-complaints from both sides.

The Peace Mission would suggest that the Nagaland Federal Government require all arms issued to its forces to be concentrated at one of several places in their armouries and under their custody, so that there can be no basis for any future complaint of their forces parading with arms or extorting money or supplies under threat. They should also seriously ask themselves whether further recruiting and movement out of Nagaland towards Pakistan does not create an impression that these are only acts preparatory towards resumption of hostilities and, if so, they should take remedial measures by putting a stop to such recruitment and movement. The Government of India should ensure that its security forces and the civil administration do continue to abide strictly with the terms of the agreement, both in letter and spirit.

The Peace Mission, repeatedly, made fervent appeals to both the parties to make a serious consideration of the suggestions and proposals contained in their paper and also that all such actions be taken expeditiously as is required for the maintenance of peace in the area.

CHARLES PAWSEY

Meanwhile, in February 1965, Shri Charles Pawsey, the last British Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills visited

Nagaland. He met the overground Nagas and told them that the aspirations of the Naga people could find complete fulfilment only within the Union of India. He said that there could be no question of the independence of one group of Indians against the others. He added that the youngsters who were bringing arms from other countries were only doing harm to themselves and their people. The Underground Nagas resented Shri Pawsey's visit because his views did not coincide with theirs. Consequently, Shri Jerenkokba Ao, the 'Home Minister' of the Underground wrote a letter to Shri Pawsey telling him that his visit to Nagaland was without prior intimation to his 'government', unless the purpose of his visit was cleared by the members of his 'government' he could not be allowed to undertake a tour of Nagaland. Shri Pawsey then went to the Khensa Peace Camp to meet the Underground leaders. They, however, refused to meet him.

On 5th February 1965, the Underground submitted their reply to the proposals of the Peace Mission. They wrote that in order to assess whether the Nagas wanted to remain within India or to live all by themselves a fair plebiscite was called for. This plebiscite, they said, should be supervised by some neutral country. At the same time they said that if the Government of India respected the rights of the Nagas then the Nagas were willing to enter into any kind of relationship with India which would ensure good neighbourly relations between them.

VISIT BY PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION

The proposal for a plebiscite was regarded by New Delhi as fantastic and untenable. Meanwhile a group of fifteen members of Parliament, belonging to different shades of thought and parties visited Nagaland in February 1965 in order to make a first hand study of the situation there. They were given an outstanding welcome both at Ghaspany and Thizama. Slogans like "Nagas for Nagaland", "Indian Army

Withdraw", "We want Independence", "Nagaland for Nagas", "Leave Nagas Alone" were also raised. The All Party Parliamentary Delegation also saw the Underground Army in their full military regalia. They were also shown dramatic evidences, of the alleged atrocities committed by the Indian Army on the Naga villages. In a public function this Delegation was welcomed by the Vice-President Shri Imkongmeren Ao, and the General Secretary of the NNC. Shri A.P. Jain, MP, while thanking them for their welcome, said that they had come on a friendly mission and would make all honest and earnest efforts to arrive at a proper assessment of the situation in Nagaland. The report submitted by this Delegation stated: "The members of the delegation spare no pains in making clear to the hostile Nagas and their sympathisers that the only solution acceptable to India would be within the Indian Union, the details of which could be worked out at the conference table." The report further stated categorically that the continued suspension of operations from 6 September 1964 had been greatly appreciated by the Naga people as a whole which is a strong testimony of the earnest efforts towards peace of the Nagaland Ministers. Their report further emphasised the onerous responsibility being shouldered by the Chief Minister and the Ministers of Nagaland through very trying and difficult times of brothers fighting against brothers. The report appreciated the initiatives taken by the Chief Minister, Shri P. Shilu Ao for furthering the cause of peace in the area. They noted with approval his statement that he would not mind stepping down from office if it could bring peace to Nagaland. In its report the Delegation also mentioned, with regret, the machinations of one member of the Peace Mission in giving currency to unconfirmed and provocative stories of alleged atrocities by the Army on the hostile Nagas. They also mentioned that they had seen about 600 fully armed and uniformed Nagas carrying stenguns, bren-guns, 303 rifles, and mortars, outside the Thizama village. They also reported talks about the forced collection of

money from peaceful villagers, the forcible recruitment of school boys and young men into the Naga Home Guards, of a group of about 1700 Nagas who went to East Pakistan to smuggle arms into Nagaland.

The Delegation whole-heartedly agreed with the Peace Mission that an immediate end be put to the violations of the terms of the peace agreement, particularly of the carrying and displaying of arms in the villages by the Naga hostiles. They also wanted that all such activities which could jeopardize the chances of a peaceful settlement must be strictly curbed. On the part of the Indian Army, they stated that no instance had come to their notice where they had violated the terms of the peace agreement. From their side the operations continued to be suspended. The Delegation however saw a ray of hope in the willingness of the Chief Delegate of the Nagas to come to a political settlement within the Indian Union. Finally the Delegation stated that they were firmly of the view that there could be no solution to the Naga problem except within the Indian Union. They expressed the hope and trust that the period of bitter struggle would soon transform into an era of peace and prosperity for the Nagas.

The Tatar-Hoho, the Underground Naga Parliament could not arrive at any decision on the proposals of the Peace Mission, particularly the one regarding the Nagas voluntary participation in the Indian Union. In order to clarify certain points they even held a meeting with the Peace Mission at Wokha. Yet, even this meeting could not bring about any decision on their part. The dilemma confronting the Underground Nagas was that as the Peace Mission proposals were widely welcomed by the Nagas therefore they could not reject them outright. On the other hand, these proposals were unacceptable to them as they did not recognise their sovereignty. Finding the Underground Nagas caught in a cul-de-sac, Rev Michael Scott decided to help them out by internationalising the Naga issue. He wrote letters to the Government of Burma and also to the United

Nations inviting foreign interference in the Naga dispute. He also wrote to Shri Chaliha suggesting that an impartial tribunal be appointed who would examine the legal issues under dispute and also enquire into the status of Nagaland before 1947 in order to determine whether it was a part of India or not. Shri Chaliha turned down this suggestion because he felt that not only would this serve no useful purpose but these delaying tactics would also prolong the sufferings of the Nagas.

TRANSFER OF NAGALAND ISSUE FROM EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
TO THE HOME MINISTRY

On 1 June 1972, the Government of India transferred the Nagaland issue from the Ministry of External Affairs to the Home Ministry.

When the Underground failed to arrive at any decision regarding the Peace Mission proposals, they wanted to send an emissary to London to seek Mr Phizo's guidance on the matter. This task was entrusted to Mr Keviyalley, brother of Mr Phizo. He consulted Shri Phizo in London and returned to India on 5 September 1965. Mr Phizo had sent word that he would not agree to the Peace Mission proposals till he had had a personal meeting with the members of the Peace Mission. The Underground Parliament met in a Special Session from 4th to 6th October 1965, to discuss their future plans and stance. They proposed that the next round of peace talks be held in London as suggested by Mr Phizo through his brother.

The Government of India did not agree to the proposal of sending the Peace Mission members to London to have the next round to talks there with Mr Phizo. On the other hand, Shri Chaliha, Shri J.P. Narayan, Shri Vishnu Sahay, Governor of Assam and Nagaland, Cabinet Secretary, Shri Dharam Vira, President's Secretary, Shri Gundevia, and the External Affairs Secretary, Shri B.K. Kapur, decided that the Government of India would have no objection to Mr.

Phizo's coming to India to talk to the members of the Peace Mission. Mr Phizo did not come to India. Thus the stalemate continued.

DISINTEGRATION OF PEACE MISSION

Meanwhile, the activities of Rev Michael Scott were attracting vehement criticism from all quarters. It was being felt that Rev Scott was taking a very unfair advantage of the hospitality and other infrastructure extended by the Government to him. He had free access to the Underground and had been holding secret meetings with them in the absence of the other two members of the Peace Mission. His mischievous proposals on behalf of the Underground provoked both Shri Chaliha and Shri J.P. Narayan. In his exasperation at Rev. Scott's behaviour and actions, Shri Chaliha resigned from the Peace Mission. The Peace Mission had not been working as a team but had been complicating matters and jeopardising all efforts to arrive at any solution of the Naga problems. When Shri J.P. Narayan made a public statement that the Underground Nagas wanted a status similar to that of Sikkim and Bhutan his statement was bitterly opposed by the Government as well as the Underground Nagas. This also forced Shri J.P. Narayan to send in his resignation from the Peace Mission on 25 February 1966.

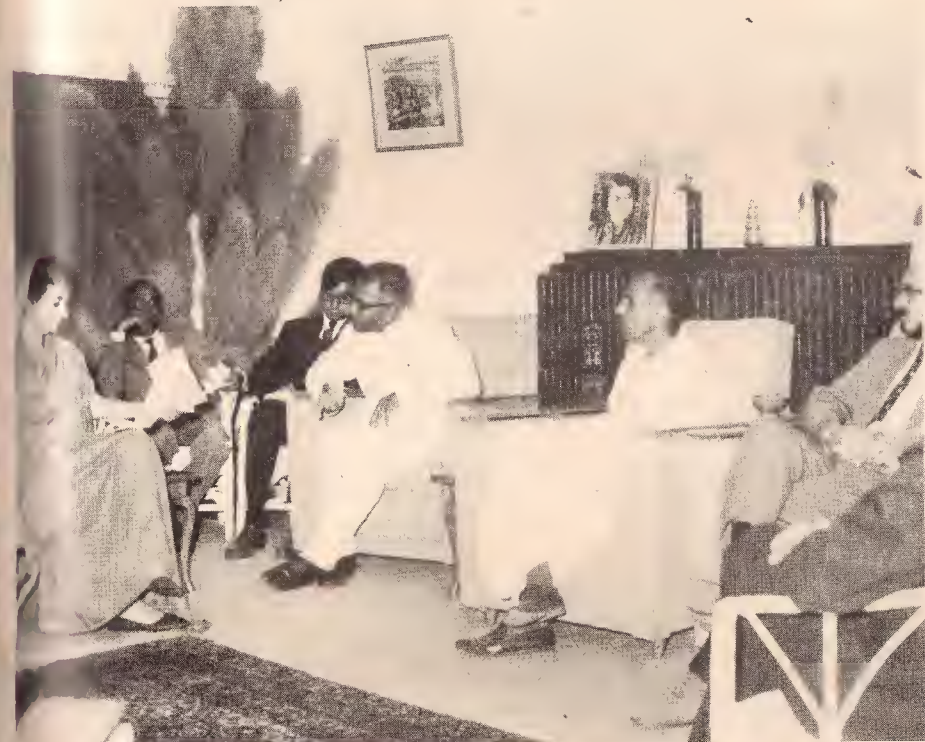
EXPULSION OF REV SCOTT

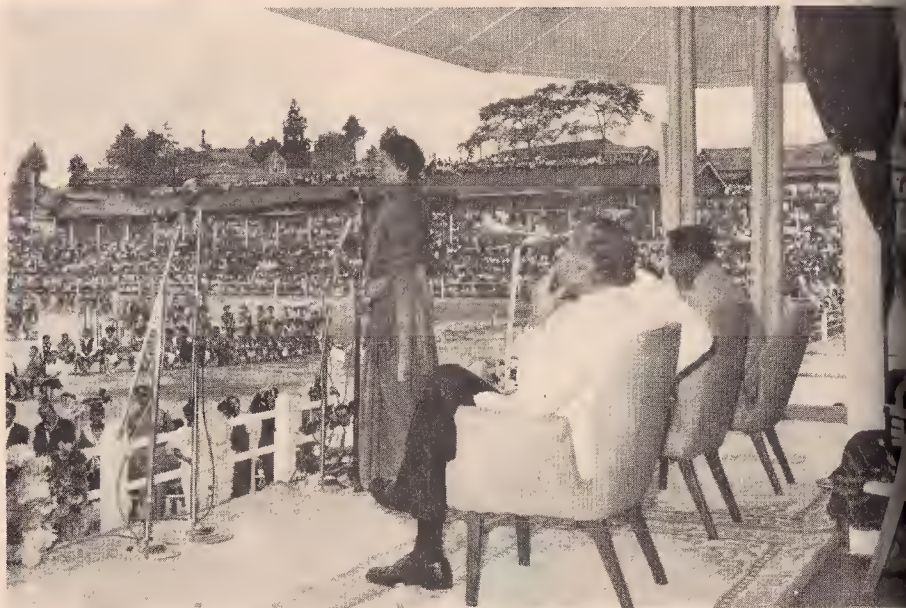
Slowly the subversive activities of the hostile Nagas began to increase. There were serious rail accidents in Assam which were believed to have been engineered by the Underground Nagas, and the Assam-Nagaland border became alive with incidents of the hostile Nagas. It was widely believed that Rev Scott's associations with the Underground were also on the increase. In the press, in public meetings, and in the Parliament, strong voices were raised demanding the expul-



Shrimati Indira Gandhi and the author witnessing a Naga dance
(24th September, 1969)

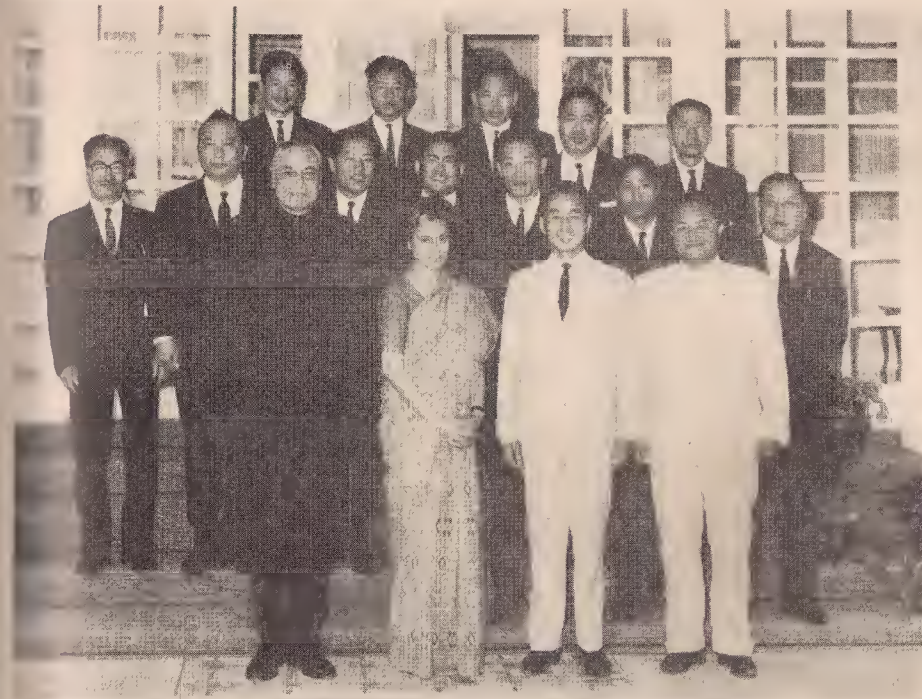
Shrimati Indira Gandhi with the Peace Observer Team, headed by
Dr Aram, Director Peace Observer Team, at Kohima



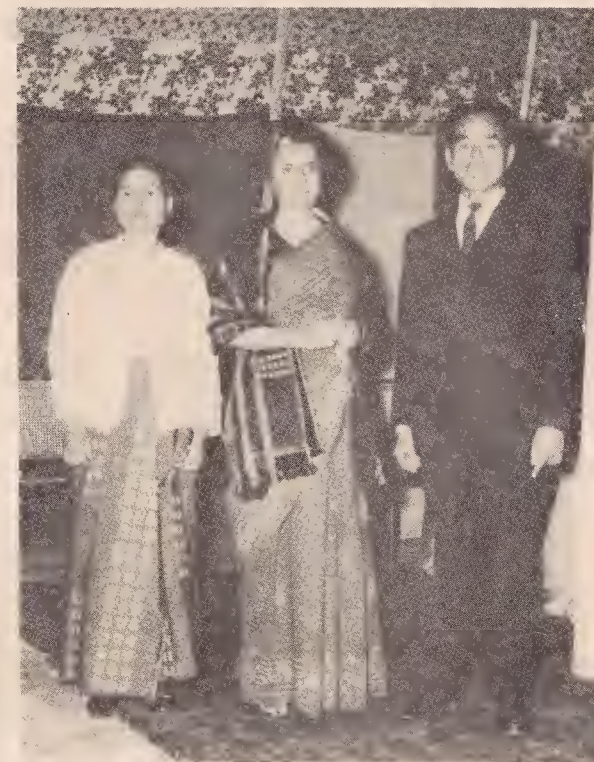


Shrimati Indira Gandhi addressing a public gathering at Kohima

The author, an Ao tribal chief, the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, and the Governor, Shri B.K. Nehru



Shrimati Indira Gandhi with the Council of Ministers of Nagaland, headed by Shri Hokishe Sema (author)



Mrs Shitoli Sema (wife of the author), the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, and the author



The clash of arms



Surrender by the
Revolutionary Group

A surrender scene



Commander of the Revolutionary
Group surrendering his Light
Machine Gun to the Governor,
Shri B.K. Nehru

The Underground Commander
Zuheto having a lively chat with
an Army General after the sur-
render. Mr Zuheto is now a
Commandant of a B.S.F.
battalion

The author along with the jawans
of the newly created Naga Regi-
ment. The recruits were previous-
ly Underground



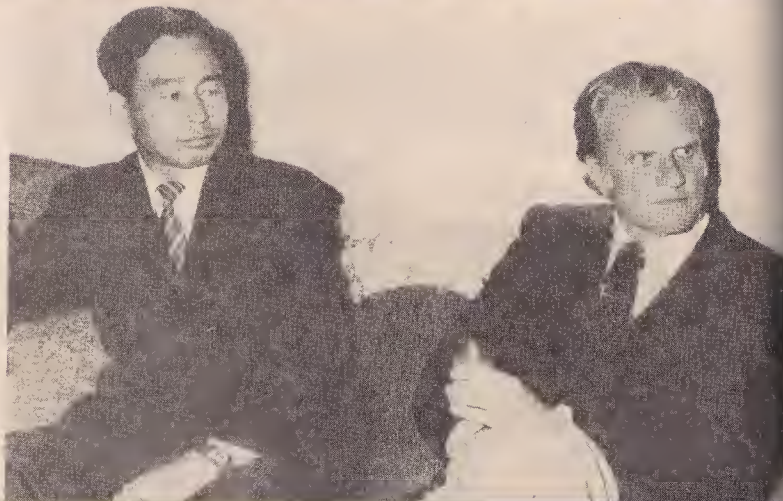


President of the Naga Revolutionary Government, Mr Scato Swu, making a speech before the surrender. Mr Swu is now an M.P. (Rajya Sabha)

Dr Billay Graham at the residence of the author to enquire about the welfare of author's injured daughter, Miss Kaholi, who was ambushed along with the author by the Underground



The author with Dr Graham



The Crusade Hall at Kohima



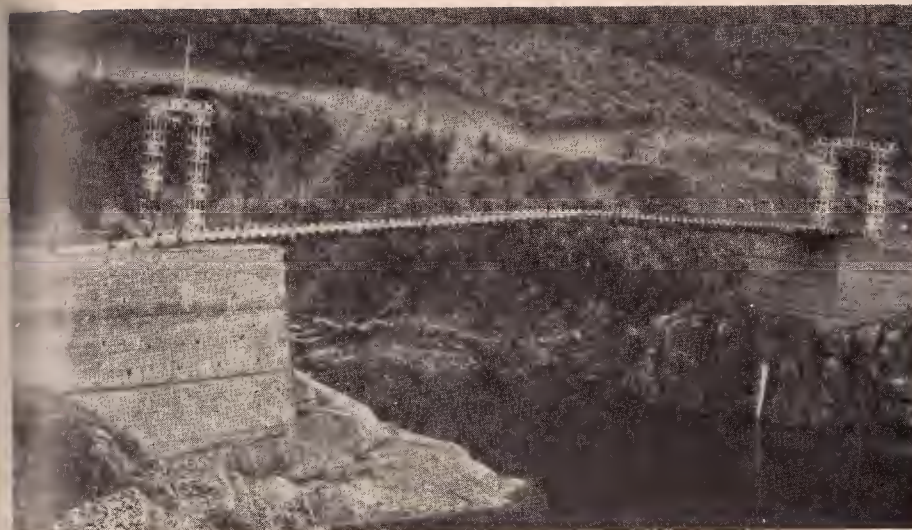
A typical village surrounded by terraced rice fields



A winnowing scene



A traditional jhum field



A newly constructed bridge over River Doyang – a mile-stone of development



The author inaugurating the first tourist lodge at Dimapur (19th July, 1969)

A plywood factory



A tender care



Decked up for the festival



The warrior Chang

The spear wielding Aos





The thumping Chakhesangs



The joyful
Rengmas

A Lotha dancing scene



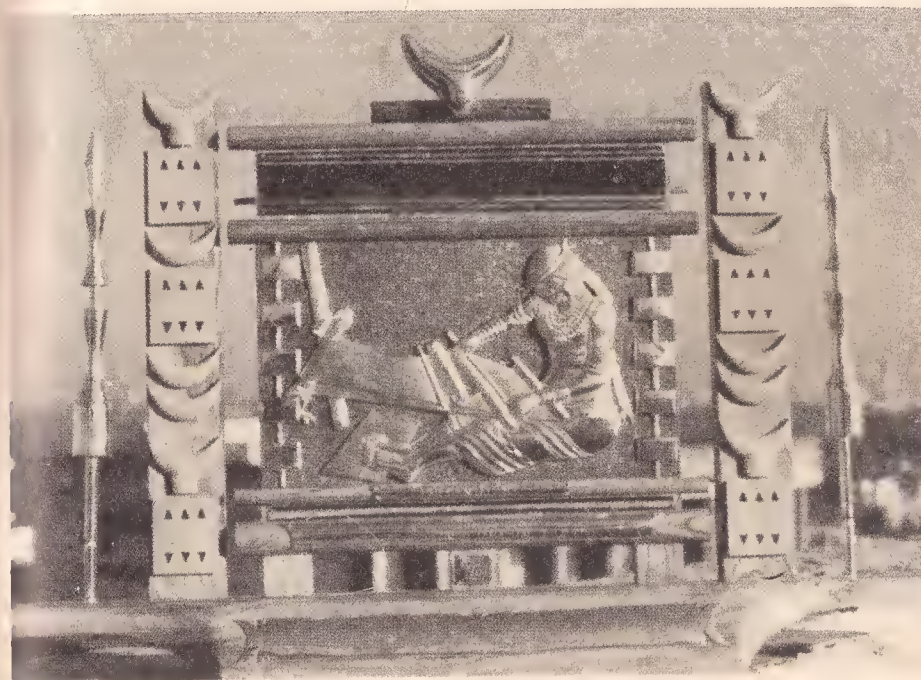
The Dancing Semas

The Macham Nagas





Naga girls



A trophy for the Sema Women's Association,
Presented by Smt. Shitoli Sema (1985)

sion of Rev Scott from India. On 3 May 1966, the Government of India served Rev Scott with a two days' notice to leave India. He was however invited to give any representations against this order if he chose to do so. Commenting on the expulsion of Rev Scott, the *Manchester Guardian* said that Scott had very often shown a lack of tactful behaviour and that the Government of India had for long shown exemplary firmness in resisting the growing demands for his expulsion. Rev Scott decided against making any representations about his expulsion and prepared to leave India. On his way home, on 4 May 1966, in Calcutta he told newsmen that he was not trying to internationalize the Naga issue, he had never played a partisan role, and that the Naga demand for sovereignty was a fact from which it was difficult to run away. However, he added that the sovereignty which the Nagas wanted did not have the usual denotations and connotations associated with the word. It was some kind of local sovereignty in which the local customs and way of life were preserved as such from outside interference. He also clarified that the demand of the Nagas for sovereignty was not incompatible with the Indian Constitution.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF PEACE MISSION

After the resignations of Shri B.P. Chaliha and Shri J.P. Narayan and the expulsion of Rev. Michael Scott, the activities of the Peace Mission died a natural death. After several years I happened to be travelling with Shri Chaliha and we discussed the working and the achievements of the Peace Mission. Shri Chaliha told me that most people thought that the Peace Mission was a high-sounding body without any programme or achievements. It was felt that perhaps all the efforts of the Peace Mission had gone waste. I assured Shri Chaliha that the Peace Mission had done a commendable job in ushering in an era of peace when hostilities and tempers ran very high in the Naga area. Due

to the efforts of the Peace Mission the tense situation had considerably eased and the Naga hostiles had come to the conference table. Moreover, the Peace Mission had made concrete efforts towards a solution of a very vexed problem by drawing up detailed peace proposals for the establishment of permanent peace in Nagaland. I told Shri Chaliha that I was personally very beholden to the Peace Mission and their sincere and dedicated efforts for the Naga people, especially the villagers, who will always remember their efforts with sincere gratitude. Shri Chaliha was happy to hear this honest estimation of the work of the Peace Mission.

Chapter 8

THE TURMOILS OF A PEOPLE

NEHRU'S BLESSINGS TO PEACE MISSION

It was generally believed that though Jawaharlal Nehru gave all support and blessings to the Peace Mission yet he did not have much hope of any settlement as long as there was no radical change in the attitude of the leadership of the Underground. He told the Lok Sabha that he had met Phizo and the Underground Naga leaders about half-a-dozen times and each time they had made use of these meetings to proclaim it as a concession to their demands for independence. This led to renewed violence. Pandit Nehru told the Lok Sabha how the cease-fire had to be extended month by month despite its flagrant breach from time to time. He also informed the Lok Sabha about the first peace parleys on 23 September 1964, in which Scato Swu, the President of the Naga Federal Government had sent a message saying: "We can give anything to India which she requires of us, but our sovereignty we shall not". Pandit Nehru mentioned how after the Khensa meeting, the Naga National Council (NNC) held its session on 21 May 1965 and re-affirmed their faith in the leadership of Phizo, leaving all further negotiations to take place between Phizo and the Government of India. At this conference the Democratic Party of Kevichusa was dissolved in his absence. This was to stress the point that the NNC was the sole representative of the Nagas whose leader was Phizo and that the existence of any other party was irrelevant and damaging to the unity of

the Nagas. This was their strategy to force the Nagaland Nationalist Organisation (NNO), the ruling party, to dissolve itself so as to create a constitutional crisis in Nagaland.

PEACE EFFORTS BY SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI

When Shrimati Indira Gandhi became the Prime Minister of India she decided to have straight talks with the Naga delegation. Accordingly the first meeting between her and the Naga delegation was held on 18 February 1966 in New Delhi. The Naga delegation was led by Kughato Sukhai and comprised Imkongmeren Ao, Vice-President of the NNC, Issae Swu, S. Angami and Dallinamo Ao as its other members. In this meeting Kughato asserted that nothing less than independence would be acceptable to them. He wanted to give the impression that they had come merely to tell India to leave them alone. Moreover, the delegation was not of one mind nor did they have a similar approach to many issues. In fact many of the members of the delegation did not trust Kughato very much. They suspected that he might make a commitment which would not be acceptable to them. As such nothing came out of this meeting.

Meanwhile the Underground Nagas began making preparations to celebrate their 'Republic Day' on the 22nd of March. On 14 March 1966 they requested the Peace Observer Team to arrange for a safe passage of their armed forces through Kohima to Phezu, a place near Jatsoma, where these celebrations were to be held. The Peace Observer Team headed by Dr Aram, the Director, visited the site which is overlooking the Kohima town. The team then met the Governor, Shri Vishnu Sahay and gave him some suggestions. The Governor agreed to their suggestions which were: (a) The armed personnel of the Underground would withdraw from the camp, (b) a token force with arms could be allowed to be the guard of honour on the 22nd March, and (c) the celebration would be allowed to be held at the present site. The Observer Team then went to Phezu to

meet Kughato and to get his assurance that the above decisions of the Governor would be honoured by the Underground. These assurances never came. Instead, the Underground asserted that no one had the right to decide the composition of their guard and that in future they would discuss this matter with the Prime Minister.

On the 22nd March, then all the villagers living in the villages in the Kohima area were seen making a bee-line for Phezu. The Governor imposed curfew in the area. The Observer Team protested against this, and their protest was genuine as the curfew was observed more in its breach. The celebrations were held as planned. After the celebrations were over the Governor lifted the curfew. The armed men who collected together at Phezu were composed more of the Angami and the Chakhesang tribes. Shri Kathing, the Chief Secretary, was sure that the Aos and the Semas would part company from the Angamis and the Chakhesangs as soon as they became aware of Phizo's critical remarks at the meeting between Kughato and the Prime Minister of India.

The second round of talks between the Prime Minister and Kughato were held between 9 and 12 April 1966. Phizo had again been ignored. Efforts were made by Phizo's supporters, especially, Rev. Scott to try to get some prominence to be given to him. However, Phizo remained in the background. Violence again erupted in certain areas of Nagaland. As soon as Kughato returned to Kohima, there were two very serious explosions, one at the Lumding railway station and another at Diphu in Karbi Anglong, killing over one hundred innocent persons and injuring many more people. Everyone was helpless in the face of such activities. The Observer Team could do nothing; the Church leaders found that they could exert no moral pressure on the Underground; the Army was not allowed to retaliate. These violent activities, coupled to the uncertainty of the protracted talks at the highest level which were coming no nearer to any results, added to the confusion and created a very unfortunate situation in Nagaland.

After the second round of talks, Kughato sent a cable to Phizo telling him that a solution to the Nagaland problem was drawing near. Phizo wanted that a delegation should come to meet him in London. Accordingly, Shri Vizol and Shri Suisa, a Thanghul, were sent to London. Shri Vizol had a very difficult time with Phizo. He tried to impress upon Phizo that the situation in Nagaland had undergone a radical change. India, he told him, did not interfere in the day-to-day administration of the State and the previous elections had clearly shown that the democracy in Nagaland was without any external pressures. He advised Phizo to pay a visit to India and not to stand on prestige. On seeing the changed circumstances in Nagaland, Phizo, he thought, would have a better idea of the future of Nagaland. While Shri Vizol conceded that Phizo's presence during the talks would be an important contribution towards lasting peace, yet he also pointed out that time and tide waited for no one. Phizo was unhappy with the views Vizol had expressed though he could not doubt the integrity or honesty of the latter. Consequently, Shri Vizol and Shri Suisa returned empty handed.

The double game played by the two underground groups: the one led by Phizo and other by Kughato, caused great dismay to Shri Scato Swu, President of NFG. Consequently, soon after the return of Shri Vizol from London, Shri Scato resigned from his position. This brought about many changes in the structure of the Underground organisations. Shri Scato's position was taken over by Shri Mheshiu, a village-mate of Phizo from Khonoma. Kughato however continued to be with the federals. Kaito and Zuheto were demoted and finally ousted. Kughato was however kept on, perhaps because he had some rapport with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

The sixth round of talks between the Naga Underground and the Prime Minister aroused great expectations and high hopes. The Naga delegation had eight members: Chumbe-mo Murry Lotha, L. Ramyo, Tankhul from Manipur, Issac

Swu, Maken Ao, Meghemeto, Khondao Lotha, Tselise, S. Angami. Kughato fell ill on 1 October 1967, and the meeting was held on 2 October 1967. The Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi had asked Shri T.N. Angami, Chief Minister and myself to be present at Delhi during the talks. I told Shri T.N. Angami that we should issue a statement asking the Underground to spell out their stand very clearly as the Naga people were getting very anxious at the unnecessary delay in arriving at a solution. This statement was issued. In it, it was stated that if the Underground Leaders failed to make an honest attempt to arrive at a settlement, they would be responsible for the consequences. It was only on 5 October that Kughato could participate in the talks. However, during the talks nothing much was said or discussed. Only a letter was presented to the Prime Minister asking her to reconsider the 14 points already given to her in a memo. and to recognise Naga sovereignty.

The Prime Minister understood the mood of vacillation of the Underground Nagas. They did not appear to be ready to discuss anything nor did they want to modify their stand. Therefore, when on 6 October 1967 some members of the delegation met Shri Dinesh Singh and Shri Surinder Pal Singh, Union Ministers in the External Affairs, they were told that no useful purpose would be served in their further meeting with the Prime Minister. Meanwhile the Russian delegation was arriving in Delhi and was scheduled to stay at the Hyderabad House where the Naga delegation was staying. Therefore, Shri M.L. Kampany, Deputy Secretary in the Home Ministry, on being told that the Naga delegation was leaving as there were to be no further talks with the Prime Minister, told Shri Ramyo that their rooms were now required for another delegation. At this the Naga delegation took offence and left the next morning. On coming back to Nagaland they created a lot of confusion and bad blood. On the return of the delegation the Tatar-Hoho met from the 14 to 16 October and criticised the Government for not recognising the sovereignty of Nagaland

despite having had six rounds of direct talks with the Federal Government of Nagaland.

Another fall-out of the abortive talks with the Government was that Kughato Sukhai lost the confidence of the Angami group. Mheshiu, who was now the President of the NFG in place of Scato Swu declared the formation of a Presidential system of Government and dismissed Kughato Sukhai. However he retained Kughato in the Consultative Committee which he formed with Z. Ramyo, Chumdemo Murry, Maken and Tselese, with Ramyo as the ex-officio secretary of the committee. The delay in settlement was a deliberate strategy for ousting the Sema group from the Federal set-up so that Phizo could assert his supremacy. In the Ao areas, Phizo had a confidant in Imkongmeren—the Vice-President, NNC and in the Lotha area Chumdemo Murry was a staunch supporter of Phizo. However, the rift between the rival Underground groups continued to widen and in 1968 the differences between the Phizo and the Scato groups were transparently apparent.

CHINA LOBBY

The Naga National Council met at Jatsoma on the 17th and 18th January 1968. Among those present were Imkongmeren, Zashie Huire, Jerenkokba, Biseto Medon, Kevichusa, Keviyalley, Thinusalie, Chumdemo Murry. However, no Underground Sema leader attended this conference. Shri Daiho of Mao and Shri H. Hesso were special invitees to this conference. The three-point agenda of this conference was: (a) Plebiscite under international supervision and permanent cease-fire, (b) socialism, and (c) communism. Shri Vizol appeared to be the only sensible speaker who rejected the untenable demands for a plebiscite. He advocated a settling of the problem through negotiations. On the other hand, Keviyalley supported the demand for a plebiscite.

Regarding the other two items on the agenda, Kevichusa

condemned the idea of a tilt towards China in order to secure its support. He said that China would not accept the Nagas till they turned communist. Shri Daiho Mao Naga supported Kevichusa by saying that China would mortgage their souls if they asked for help. The issue of the NNC's deliberations of relationship with China and the views of its China lobby became a burning topic in Nagaland. The Church condemned any such alliance. The NNO, the ruling party raised the strongest protest and pointed out that those who were not ready for friendship with India on the basis of equality, were now thinking of surrendering thought, action, and homeland to China. This talk of leaning towards China was just pressure tactics. It was certain that the Nagas would reject the NNC if it voted for communism.

In the meantime, two large groups of Nagas trained by China entered Nagaland. The situation became dangerously alarming and everyone knew that peace would be the first casualty. Shri T.N. Angami and I met Shri Imkongmeren and Z. Ramyo in the Mission House, Kohima. I told them that the tactics of delaying matters were creating the dangerous situation in Nagaland. I requested them to come out and join the State Government of Nagaland in their efforts to help the people of Nagaland. But Shri Imkongmeren appeared to be adamant and told us that India's refusal to accept the Naga demand would go to the benefit of someone far away, meaning China. I replied that every Naga is expected to work for the peace and welfare of the Nagas and should never think of others who create an atmosphere of an armed hostility for us.

On 23 February 1968, Shri Y.B. Chavan announced in the Lok Sabha "That in the face of constant efforts by the underground to establish contacts with the Chinese and to receive arms, a new situation has been created and the Government of India would have to look at it from a new angle."

The activities of Issac Swu and Muivah's spreading the Chinese ideology were not liked by the people. The

extensive publicity given by the Church against the dangers inherent in the Chinese ideology also attracted the attention of the youth to this problem. It became widely known that General Mowu Angami and Issac Swu, along with a trained force of 500 armed desperadoes, were moving towards India. Encouraged by this news, the Underground activities also increased. In order to prepare for the arrival of this force, the Underground started attacking security personnel. On March 9, 1968, the Underground killed three security men at the Chobama village. A mother and her child were also killed. The China bogey combined with the authentic information of armed and trained Nagas entering India and the increased activities of the Underground, alarmed the Nagaland Assembly. At a session on 28 March 1968, it adopted a resolution which read: "Some of the Underground leaders are now openly advocating communism and they are flirting with communist China. This is an act of betrayal and treachery against the Naga people and hence to be condemned in the strongest terms."

When a batch of the armed Nagas sneaked through the Indian border and reached the Japfu hills above Kohima, Kughato and Scato came to Kohima to warn the authorities. They feared that any confrontation at this stage would do irreparable harm to the peace prospects. They had also openly declared their aversion to the Chinese doctrine and their decision to stand against anyone who wanted to impose communism in Nagaland. On 6 June 1968, the Army came to know that the armed Nagas wanted to seize the Ministerial Hill and destroy new Kohima. It was also revealed that Brig. Thinuselie was the leader of this armed band. On 7 June 1968, the Army surrounded the Underground camp situated at the top of a cliff and succeeded in capturing arms and documents after a stiff resistance. Later on these arms and documents were displayed before the Chief Minister, Shri T.N. Angami.

KAITO'S MURDER

Meanwhile, the fate awaiting Kaito was similar to one meted out to T. Sakhrie and many others. Kaito had served Phizo very faithfully for thirteen years. Now he had left the Underground camp and was working as a negotiator. Kughato came to know that the Phizo group was preparing to kill Kaito. He told me that he met one Captain of the Underground and told him that killings do not lead anywhere. In spite of this, the very next day, on the 3rd August 1968, Kaito was killed near Dos & Co. in the presence of Kughato. The entire Sema population of Kohima took out a protest march and paid glowing tributes to the departed leader. Kaito was buried at Zunheboto and people came there in large numbers and recited the daring deeds of Kaito when he was in the underground. Kaito's murder had come about after the Prime Minister had announced that any violations of peace would be met with force and that no talks would be held with the Underground till they stopped traffic with China. Thus, Kaito's murder could lead to many kinds of repercussions. This alarmed the Church leaders as well as the observer team. They proposed that a conference be held so that the effects of Kaito's murder could be minimised.

On 22 August 1968, a Naga Public Conference was held at Kohima. Most of the tribes sent their former or present Underground leaders to this conference. In this conference I pleaded with the Underground to accept a solution within the Indian Union which could ensure the continuity of the Naga identity, laws and ways of life. As in the past, this conference too failed to arrive at any consensus and set up a committee to liaise with the Government of India and to ask it to have direct talks with the Underground. This time, it was proposed that the direct talks be held, not with that Tatar-Hoho or the NFG, but with the political wing, the NNC. This meant having talks with Phizo and Imkongmeren, the President and Vice-President, respectively, of the NNC.

The special committee led by Vizol, Shaiza, and Vamozo came to Delhi. At a preliminary talk with the Foreign Secretary, they were told to be specific and clear about their stand. Further, they were informed that no further talks could be held without the acceptance of two preconditions: (a) settlement within the Indian Union, and (b) stoppage of all traffic with China and the laying down of arms.

The month of September of 1968 was the fourth peace anniversary month. This year it was full of unfortunate incidents. An Indian army Captain Subramaniam along with two JCOs was killed by the Underground in the Chazuba forest in the Chakhesang area. When the security forces tried to comb the area, the Church and the observer team intervened, and the Forces were withdrawn. After a period of two weeks the badly mutilated bodies of killed officers were handed over to General Rawlley, the GOC, Nagaland.

In the meanwhile, the murder of Kaito was having further repercussions. The rift between the Sema fighting group and the Phizo group was widening. Scato, Kughato, Zuheto had withdrawn from the Phizo group after the murder of General Kaito. They set up their headquarters at Satakha in the Sema area. They wanted to set up a new political party. They also kidnapped Mhesiu and Raniyo, the President and Secretary of the NFG just to show them that they could avenge the death of Kaito if they wanted. At Satakha on 1 November 1968, the Council of Naga People was formed. The NNC was dissolved as it had failed to arrive at any solution of the Naga problem. It was also given out that the underground Revolutionary Government of Nagaland was willing to accept an honourable place for Nagaland within the Union of India. Scato Swu assumed charge of the position of Prime Ministership and Kughato became the President of the Revolutionary Government. The kidnapped Mhesiu and Ramyo were released unharmed and sent back after giving them due respects.

THE 1969 ELECTIONS

The 1969 elections to the Nagaland Assembly were also coming near. Political parties began preparing for the same. The former Democratic party found itself in a fix. It had earlier dissolved its party and had resigned from the Assembly so as to play the power game by acting as a go-between the Centre and the Underground. Having failed in this, they now set up a new political party called the United Front of Nagas (UFN). Shri Kevichusa became the Chairman, Shri Vizol, Shri Vamozo and Shri Surhouzlie were again the moving spirits behind the party.

In the February 1969 elections, Shri T.N. Angami, Chief Minister and I, as the Finance Minister, retained our seats. The NNO won 21 seats in Kohima and Mokokehung districts and the United Front won only ten. Tuensang with 12 seats and all the nine independents joined the NNO. One UFN member also left his party to join the NNO whose strength rose to 43 in a House of 52.

B.K. NEHRU'S CONTRIBUTIONS

I was unanimously elected the leader of the NNO Legislature Party. During the Budget Session of 1969-70, while I was engaged in deliberations with my ministers late into the night, I received word from General Rawlley that General Mowu alongwith 200 Chinese trained Nagas had been received by the Zuheto's group and they were in the Phisami Revolutionary Camp. General Rawlley had also received orders to surround the Phisami Camp and to attack the inmates. He wanted to carry out the orders he had already received from his superiors. I told General Rawlley that the Army should desist from attacking the Underground people. I contacted the Governor, Shri B.K. Nehru, who was in Shillong, and asked him to stop the Army operation. He told me that I could not countermand the Army order nor could I go against the views of the Indian Parliament. I told him that

the situation was to be handled by me though I had all the respects for the Government of India and the Parliament. The next day the Governor came to Kohima and we discussed the matter together. While going back to Shillong, he asked me to come along with him so as to help him in convincing the Army authorities about our views. In Gauhati, Governor B.K. Nehru, General Rawley, General Manekshaw, GOC-in-C, Eastern Command, and I held consultations in a specially arranged room at the airport. Army Commander General Manekshaw told me right away that the civil administration was always interfering in the Army plans and later on the civilians expressed their helplessness in the face of the worsening situation. He said that the civil administration could not do much. He also referred to the army officers who were killed in the Chakhesang area and when he had wanted to take retaliatory action he had been stopped by the civil government with the assurance that the culprits would be handed over to the army. However, only the bodies of the killed officers were handed over. I could understand the General's feelings, yet I told him a story of a Maharajah who took great pride in shooting down a lion which had already been secured to a bush by his subjects. I told the General that he should not behave like the Maharajah. Further, I told him that the killing of a few Underground Nagas would not help us as the rest would escape and create more political confusion and law and order problems. My pleas were so vehement and strong that Shri B.K. Nehru took General Manekshaw to a corner for a short discussion. I was then told that I would be given a chance to handle the situation at the Phisami Camp.

I had undertaken a very heavy responsibility at a very great risk. Therefore, I worked without rest or sleep. I sent for Scato Swu, Kughato Sukhai and others. Shri Ihezhe Zhimomi, a Minister in my Government, was sent to the Phisami Camp with my message to Zuheto to persuade General Mowu to surrender. General Mowu sent back the

message saying that his arms should be released to him as he wanted to die fighting because he was a soldier. I again sent Scato to persuade him to give up his path of confrontation. After long persuasions, General Mowu and his men agreed and they were taken to the Nowgong Civil Jail in Assam. The group included several Sema leaders. I was very grateful to the Governor, Shri B.K. Nehru, General Manekshaw and General Rawley for their understanding and help. I was also thankful to the leaders of the revolutionary group for their sincere help. The work done in this case by Shri Scato, Gen. Zuheto, and Kughato Sukhai deserve special mention. I was happy that blood was not needlessly shed, that no life was lost and all of them were released later after going through the due process of law.

Now the Government of India entrusted the task of restoration of peace in Nagaland to Shri B.K. Nehru, Governor, and to the State Government of Nagaland. In order to sort out matters a meeting between the Underground and the State Government was planned in Dimapur. In this meeting, Shri Nehru put the matter in its right perspective when he said: "I have come to inaugurate this conference and not to participate in it. And more than that I am not representing the Government of India." He also sounded a note of warning to the Federal group. He told them that their pleas to China to help them should not merely be a romantic hope; they should also be prepared to face the practical consequences of such a request. He said, "When a big power begins to support a small one, that small power has already lost its independence." He also said that the ceasefire agreement cannot be a one-sided affair. Then he left the meeting to the two parties. In this conference there were four distinct groups: The State Government was represented by me, Shri Chiten Jamir, Shri Kathing, Chief Secretary of Nagaland, and Shri A.N. Saigal, Chief Secretary of Manipur. The Underground was led by their 'Home Minister' Jerenkokba, Shri Zashie Huiire, and Maj. Gen. Viyalie. The third group was that of the peace observers

team represented by Dr Aram. The Church leaders were led by Rev. Longri Ao, Shri Kenneth Kerho, and Rev. Kejung and others.

The conference began with Shri Huire's expression of disappointment at the fact that they were not talking to the representatives of the Indian Government. I told him that the Underground would have to talk to the State Government because the ceasefire terms could be ensured only by this Government. Dr Aram said that their invitation was to the Government of India and not the State Government. Then I told Dr Aram that if this was the stance of the Underground then I would leave the meeting right away. It was then that Shri Huire decided to drop this issue and go on to the terms of the ceasefire.

Shri Kathing, reacting to the accusations and counter-accusations of ceasefire violations, said that counting of the number of ceasefire violations would serve no purpose and that "we have to adhere to all the terms scrupulously." I took over the discussion again and said that the ceasefire terms had enjoined upon the Underground not to send people to China and not to bring in new weapons from China. However, the Underground had ignored these terms and had chosen to escalate the situation by sending two large groups to China. Shri Zashie instead of answering this charge, accused the Indian Army of violating the ceasefire terms in Manipur, Shri Saigal, Chief Secretary of Manipur refuted this charge which was attributed to his area. Again such charges and counter-charges began to come up. Dr Aram then said, "I suggest that no more Naga army groups go to China to bring back arms and those already abroad should be called back." I added that those returning would be allowed in only if they came back without arms. Lungshim Shaiza, Zashie Huire, and Keviyalley supported Dr Aram in his proposal that all the Nagas in China be allowed to come back unmolested even if they brought arms with them. I refused to accept such a condition and Shri Kathing added that the influx of arms into Nagaland would

certainly set off trouble and the Army would be forced to act to meet this challenge. In order to consider the matter in detail the Federal group requested for an adjournment.

At the next meeting, Shri Keviyalley made an announcement. He said that the influx of few arms into India should not create any panic for India. As they were aware of the repercussions, they would be very careful in the use of the arms. In order to strengthen Keviyalley's point, Zashie Huire added that the Indian Army was chasing the Naga forces. I told the conference that these violations would not be allowed and that I took the responsibility for seeing that the Army honoured the ceasefire terms. Meanwhile a whole series of press notes and their refutations were being issued. In one of them Dr Aram described the state Government as the delegates of the Indian Government. I had to issue a statement refuting this wrong information. Then Dr Aram further stated that the Federal representatives had given an assurance that arms would not be imported nor would people be sent to China for training. Zashie Huire issued a counter-statement saying that such an assurance was never given. Thus the meeting ended in a fiasco.

A HOUSE DIVIDED

By now most of the NNO leaders were clear in their minds that the divided house of the Nagas was a great obstacle in the path of any lasting solution for peace. Vizol, Scato, Kevichusa, all believed that the Nagas could themselves solve their problems if they got together. The Church leaders were also of the same opinion. Everyone felt that talks between the Nagas and the Government of India would be an exercise in futility without first exploring a common meeting ground among all the Nagas.

The total lack of direction in the Underground outlook is clear from the fact that they could not take advantage of the open-hearted and generous approach of Smt. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister, even though six rounds of talks were held with her. The Underground could not learn anything

from the Indian public opinion which was in favour of a settlement within the Indian Union, as indicated by the report of the Parliamentary Delegation which visited Nagaland.

Lack of coordination, of a proper utilisation of human and material resources, of political maturity, all lead to a colossal waste in terms of human sacrifice and the reckless destruction of natural resources. A land which could contribute a new vision, a new strength, a new courage, was being systematically destroyed by those who should have held it the most dear.

THE NNO

It was the NNO which gave to the Naga people not only a state of their own but also new opportunities for peace and prosperity. Those who were the bitter opponents of the NNO now have equal opportunities of participating in the democratic set-up of the State of Nagaland. The NNO has brought about a change for the better in the lives of the Naga people. When I took over the reins of the NNO parliamentary party and was made the Chief Minister of the State, I started work with a great deal of zeal and confidence. My colleagues in my cabinet, Shri T.N. Angami, Shri J.B. Jasokei, Shri R.C. Chitan Jamir, Shri Akum Imlong, and Shri Tsenlamo Kikon, and others, gave me great respect, support and cooperation. It was widely believed that a new chapter in Naga history had opened which would bring peace and prosperity to the State. Though there was no political settlement with the Underground, yet the peace provided opportunities for introducing economic developments. The Fourth Five-Year Plan was just beginning and we prepared a strong planning base for this Plan. When we requested the Central Government to provide us with strong support for our infrastructural expenses as we had to catch up with the other states who had already completed three plans, we received generous help and support.

The State Government gave top priority to the construction of a network of roads. It endeavoured to provide transport, hospitals, schools, power and water supply to the people. In order to bring about a mood of reconciliation and rehabilitation, political prisoners were ordered to be released from prisons. Many of them did not grasp the hand of friendship extended to them and crossed over to Burma and Pakistan. When they tried to return they were arrested. On 26 March 1970, the Government of India announced in the Parliament that in future there would be no direct talks with any Underground Naga group on the political issues of Nagaland. The state Government was, however, within its rights if it chose to contact such groups so as to bring normalcy in the State.

PLANS TO ELIMINATE THE CHIEF MINISTER

The result of all this was that some of the persons who were opposed to my approach and thinking became frustrated and started looking for some underhand means to fight back. I issued a statement to the Naga people asking them to realise their duty: "Let not posterity feel that our generation has been unmindful of the future of the Nagas has acted in an irresponsible manner." These people now approached the Underground to eliminate me. A press correspondent told me that reliable sources placed me on the Underground's hit list. He asked me what precautions I had taken to fight off a possible attack. I told him: "What precautions can save a man against determined killers? Hundreds of army men have died in Nagaland in spite of all precautions. My sole precaution is the blessings of God. If God wants to save me who can touch me! When Shilu stood against Phizo, he was attacked twice. But God saved him. Shri J.B. Jasokie was attacked when he was returning from Church one Sunday and his wife was injured. I do not imagine that they would spare me if they can, especially now that they are on the run. Now they have no ideology to preach, no concession to

demand; they have only violence." I was determined that regardless of the threat to my life I should do something concrete for the welfare of my people.

Independence Day was approaching and I wanted to announce the opening of the Kohima branch of the Gauhati High Court on that day. This was one of the points in the 16-Point Agreement with the Government of India. On 8 August 1972 I was returning from Shillong after having discussed the matter with Shri B.K. Nehru, Governor, who had accepted my suggestions. With me were my daughter, Kaholi and Rev. Kejung Ao. When we were only three miles away from Kohima, my car was attacked at close quarters. The Underground fired at us from a distance of hardly fifteen feet. Immediately I knew that they had come for me, and I felt sorry for my daughter and Rev. Kejung who were innocent travellers with me. Surprisingly no fear came to my mind. I knew that I had done everything out of a sense of feeling for my people and nothing out of hatred. I had only wanted to serve my people and my state and so I had nothing to fear for or repent for.

The Underground fired more than 100 shots from two directions: the left and the behind. They came in three waves, with an interval of about ten seconds between each wave. The first wave did not hit anyone in the car. I told my driver Jhitu to start the car and as he was doing so the second wave of bullets came in. This time my bodyguard Phuken and my driver Jhitu were killed. My daughter Kaholi was injured. She started crying but I consoled her by telling her that we were not alone and that God was with us and would save us. In the meantime at least two trucks passed by my car and went towards Dimapur. One member of the Underground even came out on to the road and conducted traffic in front of my car, about fifty feet away. Then the rest of the Underground fired the third time. Immediately after this everything became absolutely quiet for about two minutes. Then Shri Tohoshe, a student who was in Rev. Kejung's car which was behind us, came up to enquire about us. We then

got into his car and drove straight to the Kohima civil hospital for medical aid for my daughter. As the ambush was very near Kohima town, many people heard the firing and came to see me in the hospital. I greeted them and told them not to worry about us who were saved but to think about the innocent persons who were needlessly killed in the ambush. Later on, it was found that as many as 58 bullets pierced through my car and it attracted a large number of visitors with curiosity.

When I reached my residence, Smt Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister, called me over the telephone from New Delhi to express her concern for me. I told her that such an attack was not unexpected and that it was comforting to know that my daughter and Rev. Kejung were saved. She offered all her help and support to me and asked me what should be done. I told her that the Nagas would not support those who wanted to re-write the terrible chapter of bloodshed. In doing so they would be putting the last nail into their coffin.

The dastardly attack on me and my party evoked the concern of the people of Kohima. Many elders and leaders came from several villages to express their sympathies for me. People were afraid that in retaliation I might order Army operations in the Kohima district. I set their fears at rest by telling them that I would do no such thing. On the contrary, I said, I needed their help and cooperation in putting an end to bloodshed in Nagaland.

Knowing that the Underground leaders were at their wits ends about what to do, I set about seeking the help of intermediary agencies to approach them to give up their ways and to see the light. The observer team and the Church leaders were asked to do this job. While these people were trying to bring about peace and goodwill, the Underground and the opposition were trying to exploit their sincere efforts and designs. Though I was all for rapprochement and reconciliation yet I would not tolerate any act of indiscipline. Dr Aram, the Director of the Peace Observer Team told me that at times he was frightened by my bold utterances. Yet, I

wanted to gear up the administration and stop indiscipline. The opposition found itself deprived of the chance to play go between the Government and the Underground. Therefore they increased their propaganda against the NNO and began using the Underground threats against the Government as instances of the division in the Naga people. The formation of the Revolutionary Government by Scato Swu and the Hongkin Government by Thungdi Chang, were all used by the opposition UFN against the NNO as official efforts to create divisions among the Naga people.

DIVISIONS IN NNO

The 1971 Lok Sabha elections were held throughout the country in what was considered to be the Indira year. Her party won hands down. Yet, despite this wave, the NNO candidate Shri S.C. Jamir, Union Deputy Minister for Railways, lost to Shri Kevichusa, the UFN opposition candidate. The UFN were supported by the Underground and campaigned bitterly against Shri Jamir's firm stand against political dialogue between the Underground and the Government of India bypassing the State Government. My strong actions, straightforwardness, and often uncompromising stand on basic issues of principle also became handy tools in the hands of the opposition.

Meanwhile three seats fell vacant in the Nagaland Legislative Assembly, and Shri S.C. Jamir won a by-election. Unfortunately, Shri Jamir was of the opinion that he had lost the Lok Sabha elections because I had not helped him. He along with some of my colleagues drafted a new guideline for the state Government to follow. They wanted me to start immediate negotiations with the Naga National Council of which Phizo was the President. They also wanted that the state Government abjure any talk or connection with Scato Swu and the Thungdi Chang groups. In other words, they wanted that the Federal Government should be considered to be the sole representative of the Underground

Nagas. They also suggested that Phizo and other Underground leaders who had left the country be helped to return. Release of prisoners, resumption of direct talks with the Centre and special allocation of funds for the Tuensang area were the other main points.

These guidelines were discussed by the NNO Parliamentary Party. Due to these guidelines some disturbances were also made in the State Assembly, but the efforts of those who wanted to start peace talks between the Government of India and the NNC did not succeed. The Assembly merely resolved that talks be resumed with the Underground Nagas in association with leaders of public confidence. Thus the dissidents and the opposition could not effect much damage.

After the Assembly session I called four members of my Council of Ministers and told them that as they had tried to create political complications inside the NNO party, they had no option but to resign. Those who resigned were Shri T.N. Angami, Shri Akum Imlong, who were my cabinet colleagues, and Shri Weprenyi Kepfo and Shri Tsebongse Sangtam, who were Ministers of State in the Government.

The year 1972 saw many dramatic and even drastic changes in the entire North-East region of India. There was the independence of Bangladesh with the fall-out of about two million refugees from this country. Assam was reorganised into Meghalaya, Mizoram, and the Arunachal Pradesh. Manipur and Tripura also attained full statehood. The main brunt of the refugee influx was borne by Assam though Tripura also received its share of refugees. As for Nagaland, no outsiders could dare to come in due to the inner line system of protection to the Nagas. However, Bengali labour was now cheaply available and the *nouveau riche* Naga landlords wanted to make the most of this. Over 5,000 labourers slipped into Dimapur, Nagaland, and on to the Nagaland-Assam disputed borders.

BANNING THE UNDERGROUND

After the attempt on my life, the Governor, Shri B.K.

Nehru, who had special responsibility over law and order in Nagaland went to New Delhi for consultations with the Central leaders regarding the Nagaland situation. On 1st September, 1972, he announced the banning of the Naga National Council, the Naga Federal Government and the Naga Federal Army forthwith. The doors for any direct talks with the Underground were finally closed by the Central Government. This was done after over sixty extensions of the ceasefire spread over a period of eight years.

Before the Peace Observer Team finally ended its functions in Nagaland, they gave a parting message to all concerned, addressed to the Prime Minister. It said: "We are convinced that force or violence can never solve the Naga problem which is essentially a political matter." In fact the Nagaland problem consists of three important facets—political, human, and the law and order problem. The Peace Observer Team and the Church leaders could not differentiate between them as they were too busy trying to pacify both the sides.

CHRISTIAN CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS

After the three wings of the Naga Underground had been banned, the time came for the Ao tribe to celebrate its centenary of Christianity. They invited many American and other foreign missionaries and dignitaries to attend their functions. The Church leaders desired that the time of celebrations be not marred by violence, therefore they approached Underground leaders and received written assurances from Shri Zashie Huire, the Angh of Patkoi range, that during the month of November 1972 not a single shot would be fired. However, this assurance came to a nought when on 14th November, 1972, while the centenary celebrations were in full swing, the Underground killed one jawan of the Army and seriously injured another dozen near Zubza on the Dimapur-Kohima highway. Zashie maintained silence over this incident but the Church leaders issued a statement saying: "No words can adequately express our

shame and sorrow for what happened this morning." I told the Church leaders that this incident once again confirmed the view that there was a deep cleavage between what the Underground said and what it did. The five long years of preparations for this historic function of thanks-giving were spoiled and abused by this incident.

DR GRAHAM'S VISIT

During the same month, Dr Billy Graham, the famous American evangelist was invited by the Nagaland Baptist Council to address a Christian crusade in Nagaland. Dr Graham and his party arrived at Kohima on 20th November, 1972. His coming was celebrated by the Underground by firing at a road protection party near Khuzama, the last Naga village on the Kohima-Imphal road. The security personnel near Chakhabama were also fired at by the Underground. When the great Christian Preacher was leaving after the crusade, the Underground resorted to firing just five kilometres from Kohima. One member of the Party is reported to have said: "They do not know what they are doing. May God give them wisdom." It was also reported that Dr Billy Graham was requested to bless the ceasefire and also to ask India to restart peace talks with the Underground. Dr Graham is reported to have replied: "Gospel yes: politics no." During his stay at Kohima, Dr Graham also visited my daughter Kaholi who was injured in the ambush laid for my life. He blessed her and wished her health and long life. He said that human sufferings do not go unrewarded, more so when innocent blood is spilled.

LOSS OF PUBLIC CONFIDENCE

After the banning of Federal factions, one clear picture has emerged. This is that apart from sporadic incidents, the Underground have lost its zeal and also the halo which surrounded it. The public had been alienated by the

disturbances they had tried to create during the sacred crusade month in November. Through these actions they had also destroyed the moral backing provided to them by the Peace Observer Team as well as the Church leaders. Now they were isolated and alienated. The State Government left them to their fate at the hands of the law and order machinery of the State and set itself to accelerate the pace of the economic developments in Nagaland.

Chapter 9

THE NAGA SUB-NATIONALISM

NATIONALISM

Nationalism is devotion to one's nation. A nationalist is a supporter of nationalism, an advocate of national rights, freedom and independence. It is an aspiration of certain distinct race or people, characterized by common descent, language or history, living or occupying a definite territory and united in character and manners not by regulation of laws but by uniformity of life and food and common influence of climate. This intense national feeling or national aspiration of the people living in a fixed territory must be capable of eliciting the commitment of people to its preservation as a separate identity in relation to other territorial units. Nationalism provides enduring quality to the bonds of a divine quality of cohesion in the midst of all the discordant elements a society may contain.

Indian nationalism is clearly understood and expressed by Jawaharlal Nehru, our first Prime Minister, "I know there is India, but I want to know where are the Indians?" In fact when we talk of nationalism we talk of sub-nationalism like Assamese, Bengali, Punjabi or Madras. This puts a question to us, how deep is our nationalism? Nationalism depends on the intensity and strong feelings for the national unity and national welfare.

In order to strengthen this national unity, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru called national integration council and a national policy was adopted in 1968: "The foundation of our national life is common citizenship, unity in diversity, freedom of

religion, secularism, equality, justice social, economic and political and fraternity among all communities." Political unity which aimed to increase the sense of Indianness, owe loyalty to India and regard ourselves as Indian first, Indian second and Indian last.

SUB-NATIONALISM WITHIN NATIONALISM

However, a broad, liberal, federal-political spectrum of India permits full scope for the flourishing and flowering of the traits of sub-nationalism within a nation. In this federalistic, pluralistic approach, sub-nationalism is not to be frowned upon, but is rather to be regarded as a legitimate-expression and a desirable manifestation of cultural, ethnic and political identities.

According to the Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, sub-nationalism involves such diverse problems of modern political and cultural life as those of minorities, administrative decentralisation, local-self government, autonomy, cult of homeland, and local patriotism rooted as much in history as in current aspirations for betterment and development. It becomes complicated only where there is a combination of such factors as geographical isolation, independent historical traditions, ethnic, racial or religious peculiarities and local economic or class-interests.

Sub-nationalism, thus, is a multi-dimensional phenomenon, wherein the basic issue is not sub-nationalism versus nationalism but one of right ordering of loyalties between the sub-national and the national identities so that they enrich, support and strengthen each other.

NAGA SUB-NATIONALISM

The Naga sub-nationalism emerges out of a strong desire and common sentiments of belonging to a common family of Nagas. It comes out of their feelings for consolidation of all Naga tribes near and far under one compact administration.

The coming of the British administration brought about a gradual consolidation of this largely isolated tract inhabited by different Naga tribes. The British administration broke down the barriers confronted by the topographical hazards and the tribe to tribe isolation and opened up new avenues for the understanding of integration both on social and political levels. This desire or intense feeling for all the Naga tribes to live under one political roof has been achieved partially by granting a separate statehood in India. There are Naga tribes almost equal in area and in population still living outside Nagaland.

The feelings of the Nagas were understood by Jawaharlal Nehru and as the Congress President, he wrote a letter to Shri T. Sakhrie Angami, Secretary, Naga National Council on 1st August 1946 in which he said, "I am glad that the Naga National Council stands for the solidarity of all the Naga tribes including those who live in the so-called unadministered territory." But he also added, "it is obvious that the Naga territory in Eastern Assam is much too small to stand by itself politically or economically. It lies between two huge countries India and China and part of it consists of rather backward people who require considerable help. When India is independent as it is bound to be soon, it will not be possible for the British Government to hold on the Naga territory or any part of it. They would be isolated there between India and China. Inevitably, therefore, this Naga territory must form part of India and of Assam with which it has developed such close association. At the same time it is our policy that tribal areas should have as much freedom and autonomy as possible so that they can live their own lives, according to their own customs and desires. Thus the solution would be that the Naga territory should be an integral part of Assam province and yet should have a certain measure of autonomy for its own purposes."

How this should be worked out is a matter of further consideration between the peoples concerned. So far as I

can see, there is no reason why there should be any excluded area apart from the rest. The whole Naga territory should go together and should be controlled in a large measure by an elected Naga National Council. At the same time the Nagas should have representatives in the Assam Province Assembly and should participate fully in the life of the Province.

I agree entirely with your decision that the Naga hills should constitutionally be included in an autonomous Assam in a free India with local autonomy and due safeguards for the interests of the Nagas.

As for separate electorates for the Nagas, I am not clear in my mind as to how this will work. Generally speaking, we are against separate electorates as these limit and injure the small group by keeping it separated from the rest of the nation. But if the Naga territory is given a measure of autonomy, some arrangement will have to be made for their proper representation.

As I have said above the excluded areas should be incorporated with other areas. It may be that certain special provisions for their protection and development will be made. I should like them to be treated as part of the entire Naga territory.

I see no reason whatever why an extraneous judicial system should be enforced upon the Naga hills. They should have perfect freedom to continue their village panchayats, tribal courts etc. according to their own wishes. Indeed it is our wish that the judicial system of India should be revised giving a great deal of powers to village panchayats.

About the unadministered territory which still contains according to you, a number of head-hunters, I cannot definitely say how soon and in what manner it should be brought into the province. That is to be decided in consultation with the people concerned. Naturally some special provision will have to be made to develop these people.

I have quoted Jawaharlal Nehru's letter to the Naga National Council because his understanding of Naga minds was superb, and his sincere and frank advice was so valuable. Those days whatever he said was almost the law. His desire to allow the numerous Naga tribes to live together under one common political roof in India was possible. Even the Naga contiguous areas, in Burma, could have been negotiated and it was not very impossible. Jawaharlal Nehru even invited the Prime Minister of Burma, U Nu and they visited Kohima in 1953. Knowing the sympathy and understanding of Nehru, the Nagas could have availed this rare opportunity to bring the Naga areas of Burma to India. Unfortunately the Nagas boycotted this meeting at Kohima.

A DISTINCT IDENTITY

The Naga tribes occupy a unique and compact geographical territory in between China, Burma and India. At present they are distributed and tagged with different states like Nagas in Tirap in Arunachal Pradesh, the Tangkhul Nagas and Mao Nagas in Manipur State and the Zemis, the Liangmais, the Rongmais etc. in Assam State besides the various Naga tribes in Burma. They have distinct identity of their own whether in India or in Burma. The Nagas have great sense of self-discipline, spirit of sacrifice for their villages and tribes, their love and respect for their customs and traditions. They are straightforward and have dignity and self-respect. Voluntary labour for community is treated as personal by every body. This enthusiasm to work collectively for the good of the community as a whole and their spirit of adventure inspire in them a feeling of oneness, solidarity and unity.

There are several hostile groups working against this division of Naga tribes. They want all these numerous Naga tribes inhabiting in different areas of India and Burma should be brought together. It is well known that the National Socialist Council of Nagaland and the Naga National Council both are operating their insurgencies in

between Burma and India. They used to obtain arms and training from China. Over and above these two underground hostile groups, there is an overground pro-Phizo group still working actively re-organising the ex-underground to keep the name of Phizo alive. They are also trying their best to convince the Naga public that the Indian leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Rajagopalachari had once agreed and supported the Naga Independence. They quoted that a Naga delegation met Mahatma Gandhi on 19 July, 1947 in Delhi in which Mahatma Gandhi is supposed to have said, "Nagas have every right to be independent. We, in India did not want to live under the domination of the British and they are now leaving us; I want you to feel that India is yours, I feel that the Naga hills are mine just as much as yours, but if you say it is not mine then the matter must stop there. I believe in the brotherhood of man, but I do not believe in force or forced unions. If you do not wish to join Indian Union, nobody will force you to do that." They also say that when a Naga delegation met His Excellency Rajagopalachari, the then Governor General of India at Shillong on 28th November, 1947, he said, "India wants to be friendly with you. India do not want to deprive the Nagas of their land. Nagas are of full liberty to do as they like, either to become part of India or be separated if that would be best for the interest to be isolated." These movements are kept alive with the active cooperation and support of the Naga people living in very backward and undeveloped areas of Burma and India. These militant movements, operating between two International borders where no modern developments exist, cannot be brought under the control of any authority easily. To control such a movement, the first priority is development of roads on both sides of the International border but it will require many years for both India and Burma to develop these areas because of the distance and the difficult terrain. These various insurgents' problems have to be handled firmly but tactfully. They have to be handled through political negotiations as well as

economic developments. However hard the problems may be, once these insurgents are brought to the mainstream of national life, they can strengthen the national fibre and the nation can be proud of them.

This is the crux of the problem of management of sub-nationalism in India, to the resolution of which the political elite, administrators and educationists have to join hands and work in right spirit, and with foresight, imagination, skill and tact.

Any meaningful and purposive analysis of contemporary political history of Nagaland should start on the note that Nagaland is a mingled profile in ethno-nationalism and sub-nationalism as an integral part of Indian nationalism. Adoption of such an approach facilitates an understanding of the political reality in Nagaland, and a fair comprehension of social, economic, political, cultural, demographic, racial and religious landscape of the region. Such an exercise, moreover, will accentuate full participation of Naga people in the mainstream of national life.

It is, thus, necessary to discard the notion that sub-nationalism is necessarily separatist or unpatriotic and poses threats to national integration. Sub-nationalism may be an important factor in political arrangements in a democracy such as India, and it may be conducive as much to nationalism as to sub-nationalism. Sub-nationalism in India manifests the genuine democratic ethos of the country and needs its proper accommodation in the Indian federalism.

UNITY IN DIVERSITY

Indeed India's composite culture has been a shining example of unity in diversity. Throughout centuries the country witnessed assimilation and cross-fertilisation of diverse cultures. The spirit of concord and consensus and tolerance has been an integral part of the Indian culture. Individuals, groups, regions and communities have, over centuries, existed in a state of functional equilibrium, contributing to

the health and vigour, perfection and welfare of one another and of the whole cultural stream. Their harmonious relationships don't envisage the sublimation or sacrifice of one for the other, rather, they exist conjointly in an integral, organic whole in which the limbs or parts are as much real as the whole, and in which neither the whole can be conceived without the parts, nor the latter as divorced from the whole.

It is also worthwhile to realise that in many of the developing nations, the problem of political sub-culture is of major importance, and requires to be treated imaginatively. Moreover, the ethnic-cum-economic consideration of sub-nationalism is an important factor in Nagaland.

A combination of multiple factors has, in the past, made the task complicated in North-East region of India in general and Nagaland in particular. Competent observers of the scene trace the uneasiness among the people of the North-East to a variety of factors such as neglect, non-recognition of their aspirations, non-recognition of their right to protect their own identity and heritage and the fear that they were being treated as inferiors to the rest of India.

PARTICIPATION IN THE NATIONAL MAINSTREAM

The different tribes inhabiting Nagaland were scarcely touched by the national movement and initially many of them had practically no conception of loyalty to the nation. The spirit of patriotism will have to be planted, manured and watered by sustained but cautious efforts among the people of this area.

Integration is a process, a growth and a development. National building and national integration imply a long complicated process. They involve not mere political integration, but an integration of the whole society, its economy, politics, education and culture. It entails evolution of a nexus of national ethos that permeates the life and thought, conduct and behaviour of the people belonging to different castes, communities, tribes and regions. This

inevitably implies long periods of reconstruction and rejuvenation of the myriad aspects of the life of a nation. Thus the problem of national integration is one that requires to be approached from many directions. As the experiences of national integration in the countries of the West evidence, there can be no short-cuts to it.

While the foregoing considerations set the general problems and prospects of Nagas' participation in the national mainstream, it would be desirable and necessary to outline the patterns of such a participation under the democratic Indian political system. The Preamble of the Indian Constitution declares India as a Sovereign, Democratic, Secular and Socialist Republic and guarantees to all its citizens (a) justice, social, economic and political; (b) liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; (c) equality of status and opportunities; and (d) fraternity, assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation. The Directive Principles of State Policy lay down certain guiding principles for governance of the state and the fundamental rights. India is a federal, cooperative commonwealth wherein all states and all citizens are equal participants, and share common national values, goals and beliefs. Through the institution of periodic elections, based on universal franchise, for the bodies from the villages to the State Assemblies and Parliament, it has been sought to expand political participation in order to foster national integration, political legitimacy and institutional capacity.

The inauguration of Nagaland as the sixteenth state of the Indian Union on 1st December, 1963 marks the beginning of a new era in the political evolution of Nagaland. It not only introduced the long sought-after and much needed period of peace and peaceful development but what is of crucial importance is that it brought the brave, proud and sturdy people of Nagaland irrevocably within the national mainstream and thus within the processes of nation-building, national integration, modernisation and political development, shoulder to shoulder with the different peoples constituting the Indian nation.

Along with the rest of the country, the people of Nagaland have been participating in the elections to the State Assembly and Lok Sabha, and thus have been growingly affirming their faith and confidence in democratic frameworks. Political socialisation in the state has proceeded at a fast rate, resulting in inter-tribe contacts and communications which is a healthy sign from the point of view of nation-building and national integration.

There are other vital forces such as education, communication, transportation and economic growth which foster participant citizenship in Nagaland. The development of any political system depends upon the relationship between political institutionalisation and political participation. It is only when participation expands the capacity of political institutions to absorb change increases so as to make the system stable.

The spread of the modern system of education, fast-growing means of communication and transport, and various development activities have tended to demolish traditional barriers and isolations and are facilitating the growth of modern outlook based upon rationalism, liberty, equality and fraternity. These are invaluable developments in the direction of making Nagas at one with the whole nation.

The Planning Commission, the National Development Council, the National Integration Council etc., are other institutions through which Nagaland, like other states, participates in the task of horizontal integration of the nation, that is nation-building but in order to make these important institutions more meaningful and real to Nagaland, the State has to be more actively associated with the decisions making processes in these bodies through autonomy in the formation of realistic plan based upon local conditions and requirements. There may also be a valid case for more administrative and political devolution of power to the organs of state power from top to bottom. This will further strengthen the Nagas' bonds of union with India.

Slowly but surely, in the course of last two decades

Nagaland has been, increasingly and perhaps with cautious confidence and optimism, drawn to the National mainstream but the task is by no means complete and much needs to be done. The true spirit of nation-building is the creation of a new sense of community and common destiny among all states and their citizens.

In a tradition-bound state like Nagaland, inhabited by different tribes, the task of modernisation which alone can provide real political participation to its people, is strewn with delicacies and complexities. Undeniably in this task education, modern means of transport and communication, economic growth and development etc. have to play a crucial role.

PARTNERS IN THE INDIAN FEDERALISM

It is through these concrete devices, rather than through theorising and sermonising, that the Nagas can become effective partners in the Indian Cooperative federalism. However, in this endeavour certain pitfalls have to be avoided. It has to be remembered that the traditional sources of identity have not to be abandoned immediately, for this unnecessarily creates an apprehension and a fear-complex among the Naga tribes; rather traditions, customs and beliefs have to be slowly transcended through modernisation and acculturation. Ideology, perhaps combining elements of tradition and modernity, may be the proper instrument for the creation of a new political culture of shared values, common goals, and a minimum consensus as the institution of conflict resolution.

The process involved is one of social mobilisation, which will slowly transform the traditional society through the application of science and technology, expansion of communication and transportation facilities, and heightening of political competition and political participation so that more and more people become participants in the democratic process and at the same time, become more highly sensitive

to the poverty in which they live. This in turn will stimulate them to think about and act for a happy and prosperous future in unison with the rest of the country.

In keeping with these formulations, it would be desirable to reinvigorate and resuscitate the traditional institutions of village councils to which all the tribes in Nagaland have been accustomed for centuries for these can be viable, profitable, and easily understandable instruments of democracy at the grassroots level and of participatory democracy.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

The Constitution of the Indian Republic has directed the states to organise village panchayats and to endow them with such power and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of local self-government. The aim is to foster democratic participation, to involve villages in development effort and to ease the administrative burden on the states. Institutions of local self-government are to be both instruments of economic development and social change and agents of community mobilisation. They are intended to stimulate participation and provide channels for meaningful political expression. Community Development Programme is moulded in this vision. Moreover, through the institution of the Panchayati Raj the process of decision-making is being brought closer to the people. It was created in many states in the country to enhance capacity of local government for economic development and to expand democratic participation in the rural areas. The two were to advance together as participation was channelled into the work of community development. The strong traditions of village councils in Nagaland, which worked through a sense of the meeting and continuing discussion until a consensus was reached, can well be made a launching pad for political participation, social change and economic development. Democracy and development are closely intertwined.

Chapter 10

DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT

A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

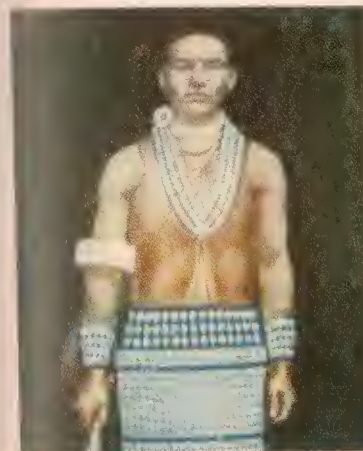
The traditional Naga society has been democratic from the very beginning. It is casteless and classless. The untouchables are non-existent and unknown in Naga society. Among the numerous Naga tribes, the political power rests with the people. It is republic in character in most of Naga tribal societies. There are a few exceptions, notable of them are the Konyak and the Sema tribes. The Konyaks have Angh (the Sovereign). The Anghs of Mon and Chui have many villages with smaller Anghs under them. They exercised sovereignty over those villages with smaller Anghs. These Anghs are advised by their ministers in their decisions. These ministers are selected by the Anghs from various clans of the village. Similarly among the Semas, there are Kukami (the Ruler). These rulers are more or less confined to their villages and generally, they have no control over other villages. The decisions of these rulers are made on the advice of their ministers called Chochomi, selected by Kukami from various clans or families in the village. Though the position and the rank of the rulers is protected and kept in high esteem, the actual function in decision-making depends largely on the representatives of the people. These Anghs among the Konyak tribes and Kukamis among the Semas are hereditary chieftainship. In the case of all other tribes, the village government is set up consisting of representatives of the clans, the khels and the families of the village. Its

members are selected by consensus of the respective clans and the members hold office for a certain limited period. Decisions are generally made unanimously or on major opinions of the members present in the meeting.

These rulers have some personal distinction acquired by them through their performances of sacrifices and good judgments. They also have a great economic power and their capacity to help the poor and the needy in the village is greatly appreciated. They provide food, shelter and clothings for the needy in any emergency. It is a great shame for the rulers if their subjects go to other villages for food. It is the duty of these rulers to ensure the security and welfare of their subjects. All disputes are settled by the rulers assisted by the ministers and elders of the village. All cases are disposed of by means of compensation. These compensations are paid either in cash or in kind. The greatest punishment is the ex-communication or exile from the village for certain period. No capital punishment is given and there is no imprisonment. These rulers assisted by council of ministers or elders decide the right of making war and peace with neighbouring villages. Open war is declared when the village territory is encroached by neighbouring village or when a villager was killed by other village. Slavery is not known in Naga society with the exception of those captured from enemy villages during the war. Forced labour was used sparingly.

LAND BELONGS TO THE CHIEFS AND CLANS

The right to possess land starts from the beginning of the establishment of village. All the expenses and initiatives for the establishment of a village are taken and borne by the proposed chief and his deputy. The rest, any number of families are mere followers of the chief and the deputy or deputies. The land cultivated by the chief and his followers will belong to the chief. Similarly, the land cultivated by the deputy and his followers will belong to the deputy. This is



Rev Inaho Sema-A
Famous Naga Dubashi



Mr N. Kinghen-A
Naga Dubashi who
rose to the rank of
Additional Deputy
Commissioner.



Shichimi—the author's village



A village lass



A historical stone at Khezakenoma village sanctifying the origin of Naga tribes



A modern Naga girl



B.K. Nehru with Hokishe Sema



The author's last meeting with the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi at Mandi in Himachal Pradesh

the beginning of the system of land holdings among the Semas. Every year this system continues and the land for cultivation is distributed by the chief and his deputy to the families. This system still prevails in Sema society and thus the concentration of land is seen with the chief and his deputies in the Sema area. The allotment of land for cultivation every year is done on a festival day called *Tuluní*. This is the biggest festival among the Sema tribes connected for the good and prosperous harvest. Gifts are given to the chiefs and his deputies as mark of respect and loyalty. No money is paid for the land for cultivation. Besides this, the chiefs and deputies are entitled to some fixed days labour from their subjects, not more than twelve days in a year, in one village. Land records are not maintained but known by the chiefs and their deputies by fixing intermittent boundary stones and natural boundaries. These cultivators on the land of the chiefs and their deputies become more or less permanent tenants. Every cycle of cultivation, the land cultivated by a particular family is generally given to that family. This is why there is no government land but all lands were owned by the public and clans in Nagaland.

AWOMI THE PRIESTS

In Naga societies, invariably there are priests clans called Awomi in Sema tribes and Pongner in Ao tribe and so on. These priests performed rites in all ceremonies and festivals of the villages. They are highly respected in societies and they are placed second to the chiefs in societies. They also foretell the future events and thus guide the life of the village. The chiefs and their deputies enjoy a position of high authority and dignity. All decisions are oral orders of the rulers and their ministers.

DUBASHIS

During the British rule over Naga hills, more than half a

century. they popularised and gave great importance to these existing local authorities. They even went one step more and established a class called Dubashi (interpreter) selected from among the rulers and chieftains. The primary functions of these Dubashis are to interpret the various Naga dialects into Assamese which the British officers knew. But gradually these Dubashis were given power to decide cases. Some of these Dubashis became very famous. In preference to the customary laws, they were allowed to establish Dubashi courts in District and Sub-divisional headquarters at Kohima and Mokokchung etc. Cases which could not be settled in the village level were brought to these Dubashi courts and were decided according to customary laws of the particular tribe. The British administrators generally confirmed the decisions of these Dubashi courts and did not encourage appeals. The Dubashis were allowed to go out on tour to various areas of the district and settle cases regularly. They also accompanied the British administrators who visited their area of administration once a year and assisted them in deciding cases. This system was popular till the Second World War.

VILLAGE COUNCILS

After the Second World War ended at the battle of Kohima in April 1945, the Naga National Council tried to bring uniformity into the administration. The village councils which existed in many villages were introduced in all the rest of the villages. All male adults in the village would meet and select the council member. No political parties existed and selection of members was done by general consensus. The next level was the Range Councils, now called Area Councils. Each range had a council whose members were selected and sent by village councils. The third level was the District Council, which is called the Regional Council. Its members were selected by Area Councils. These various councils were to take up development works of their areas

like roads, irrigation, forest, schools etc. But so far they were not delegated any financial powers.

The system of Anghship in Konyak area and Rulership in Sema tribe is declining and will ultimately be replaced by the council system. But the influential Anghs and Kukamis will still play an important role in the various councils because some of them are still popular and well-to-do in their societies. The council system in Nagaland has not been given due attention by the Government but it has to be strengthened in order to give direct participation of the people in the running of the administration for strengthening of the democratic function of the government. In recent years, the Naga National Democratic Party (NNDP) government has introduced a very practical and good scheme in the village council. In this scheme, the village development fund was created by raising fund from each family of the village and government has sanctioned a matching grant. This money is deposited in the bank. The priorities of the development projects are decided by the village council and government gives them technical assistance.

The council system is a surer way to inculcate self-confidence in the people. It gives them opportunities and their resources to manage their affairs themselves. They also get training for the task and in this manner create and strengthen the foundation of democracy. These Village, Area and Regional Councils should be allowed to collect local taxes to augment their resources for development of their areas and government should sanction matching grant and also assist them to procure loans. These Councils should be allowed to run primary schools, handicraft industries, forestry, roads and irrigation etc.

In Nagaland even the members of the State Assembly which is the final level can be selected by the Regional Councils. Till recently this system was practised in Tuensang district. Diffusion of power is necessary for development and for speedy progress of the state. This system will reduce the increasing expenses of election and minimise the corrup-

tions. This is necessary for a good society based on faith in each other and in common values. This does not in any way hamper the power of the State Government rather helps the progress and thereby good government. This system is to give initiative in deciding priorities in planning and development. They are to work within the framework of economic policies decided by the Planning Commission of the country. This is an effective way to organise society for not only rapid economic development in a humane way but make them active partners in the mainstream of national life.

WORKING OF DEMOCRACY

Nagaland has experienced five intensely contested state elections with three years of Presidential Rule. During these twenty years of democratic experience, no satisfactory economic base was built and no areas of economic activities were established. In every election the voters look forward to the solution of their economic problems at the hands of the men they have elected to the authority. Every man contesting these elections has pledged to his voters, to bring economic justice to the poor by means of legislation and also through bureaucratic protection. But as the years go by, we see gradual economic disparities and more tensions. This trend must be checked in time. This can be done by giving special attention to divert the population back to self-reliance on their economy and divert their attitude to self-reconstruction and maintain old Naga traditional pride on the human values and honours.

Functioning of political parties based on adult franchise have divided the village community on interest lines. It is difficult if not impossible to do away the numerous tribal interests in Nagaland. Many national programmes and valuable and important projects have been neglected and sometime abandoned or sold out because of different political interest lines and thus brought a great loss to the state exchequer. Construction of roads and irrigation

schemes which are vital for the people are neglected and abandoned in many places. The society of tribal life will continue whatever political parties may be there in the country. But the main concern is what is suited to the background of the social life of these tribes. We must first know the tribal way of life and then provide them a secured psychological and social anchorage. This must be done by giving them functional place like the council system. Under this system, the taxpayer can understand what the local authorities at different levels are doing with what he is paying. With gradual increase in powers, these councils will be able to make rural areas and its towns more attractive and check educated people from migrating to the cities.

The Naga citizens have shown alertness and exercise control and influence on their elected representatives and are able to secure their responsiveness. They scrutinise the performance of their elected leaders and put pressure on them to explain their public conduct and compel them to heed citizens demands. In several elections, we have seen, many elected leaders are turned out of office if their public conduct is not up to their expectations. Nagaland shall soon have the public watchdogs like social workers, lawyers, retired civil servants and journalists. Even now, the elders meetings of the various tribes are working as watchdogs of the public. A mature electorate together with its elite, deeply committed to the goal of the welfare of the common man can provide the necessary driving force for building a just and stable society and a good and responsible Government.

ECONOMIC BACKWARDNESS

The grant or establishment of small states and Union Territories in India are done with a view that smaller states can be developed at a faster rate and attained greater administrative efficiency. It also provides such states the scope for development in terms of their own resources,

aspirations and level of development. In Nagaland, economic development is far behind other states including Union Territories, in India. The basic reason for backwardness is due to many reasons: (i) ignorance of utilisation of the available resources; (ii) the soil is fertile, climate is moderate but the land utilisation is not on scientific lines; (iii) institutional credit facilities are poor; (iv) banking assistance is almost negligible and the state is simply depending on central assistance; (v) due to armed hostilities in Nagaland, the three first Five-Year Plans could not be utilised for infrastructural developments, even the benefits of the Fourth Five-Year Plan affected Nagaland marginally; (vi) the Fifth and Sixth Five-Year Plans could not be fully utilised because there was political instability and the political leadership could not devote their full time and energy for any comprehensive economic development programme for the whole of Nagaland.

NEED FOR A FRESH LOOK TOWARDS DEVELOPMENT

There is shortage of labour. The position of skilled labour is very poor. The scarcity of land has not been felt much. Import of labour from outside has started, knowing very well the dangers faced by the neighbouring states of Tripura and Assam where original inhabitants became minorities in a few decades. It has started creating social and political tensions which will definitely defeat the very goal of economic development and grant of political status. The immediate need is to acquire skills and technology and develop the local talents for the various development programmes that the State may plan. Training of manpower which is the human capital has not been taken up in a big way. In Nagaland, frequent change of government run by rival political parties created maximum constraints for smooth process of development. Even the practice of shifting cultivation—the most primitive method of cultivation which demands excess labour for low-yields has not been checked effectively. This

unproductive method of cultivation can never be controlled unless government provides enough alternative occupations to the people. Agriculture is the only source of livelihood for the majority of the people and sooner or later this problem of shifting cultivations will have to be checked on permanent basis.

Nagaland has a great potentials for development in horticulture and animal husbandry. Banana, papaya, oranges, ginger, black pepper, cardamom and pulses etc. can be grown. Poultry, duckery, piggery, sheep breeding, cattle breeding, fodder cultivation can do well. Village industries based on locally available material like cane, bamboos, wood, handloom textiles, tanning of leather, match-making, sugar, soap-making, bee-keeping, pottery etc. should be established and encouraged. For any planned development the primary need is to assess what is economically feasible and advisable in different areas. Utilisation of different areas for different purposes for which they are best suited should be ensured and there should be free communications for inter-flow and outflow of returns between these areas. Basic scientific informations like soil, rainfall, climate and diseases can be obtained only when scientific research centres are available. Agriculture scientists should provide their researches to the farmers. This is why Nagaland needs an immediate establishment of an Agriculture University. Political and administrative efforts are necessary for implementation of various economic infrastructural projects like power, transport, communication, credit institutions etc. Transport and communication systems are still poor. Marketing facilities are almost nil.

INDUSTRIES

Under industrial sector, there are five state undertakings which give employment to only 1426 persons. The following table will give an idea:

S. No.	Name and Address	No. of Regular Employees
1.	The Nagaland Sugar Mills Co. Ltd., Dimapur	373
2.	The Nagaland Pulp & Paper Co. Ltd. Tuli	966
3.	The Nagaland Forest Products Ltd., Tizit	
4.	The Nagaland Distillery Ltd., Dimapur (at present leased out to M/s Mohan Meakins since January 1980)	16
5.	The Longnak Fruit Preservation Factory, Longnak. (Under Agriculture Department)	6
Total		1426

Similarly, there are ten small-scale industries under private sector, which engage only 740 persons. Table* below explains the position:

S. No.	Type of Factory	No. of Units	No. of Employees
1.	Saw Mill & Saw-cum-Veneer Mill	119	595
2.	Aluminium Conductors	2	20
3.	Hume Pipes	3	15
4.	Sodium Silicate	1	5
5.	Steel Tabular Electrical Poles	1	5
6.	Aluminium Utensils Factory	1	15
7.	Roller Flour Mill	2	25
8.	Rice, Oil & Atta Mill	10	50
9.	Plastic Can	1	5
10.	Rerolling Mill	1	5
Total		141	740

*As on December 1984

FOREST WEALTH

The above two tables clearly show that Nagaland has no proper planning towards industrialisation of the State. Out of the total employment* of 2,166 under industrial sector; 1,661 persons are employed in forest-based industries, but forests in Nagaland are fast disappearing. As such, there should be a curb on felling of trees backed by the political will and stringent government measures. At present, the administration has given encouragement to forest contractors to fell trees not only on private lands but including the Reserved Forests. One hundred nineteen (119) Saw Mills and Veneer Mills in the private sector and the State run Plywood Factory have already done enough damages to the forest wealth in a small State like Nagaland. The indiscriminate destruction of forest should be stopped by all means and the issue of forest permits to the Saw Mills and Veneer Mills should be stopped. The subject of ecology should be taken up and public education on ecology and environment should be widely publicised. Government should no longer treat Forest Department as a revenue earning department but more emphasis should be given to conservation. Many areas of Nagaland have experienced droughts which was never existent in the past.

NEED BASED INDUSTRIES

Attention should be diverted to the establishment of new industries based on raw materials which are available in Nagaland like cement, coal, petroleum and gas etc. Agro-industries and cottage industries should also be encouraged. There must be determined efforts to use the local resources to produce goods which can compete in the national and international markets. Even in the domestic market, people buy most of their consumer goods from the plains of Assam and they have very few things to give in exchange. This has resulted in an adverse term of trade of Naga people. They

*As on December 1984

buy tea, yarn, cloth, garments, pigs, cows, chickens, sugar, dal, almost everything from the markets of Assam but nothing is exported to Assam from Nagaland. This clearly shows that Nagaland is not capable of providing even the basic human needs to the people. The British colonial power had no economic programme for Nagaland. Their main interest was to rule over the tribals.

EDUCATION

It is when considered against this background that the emerging picture and the prospects for development in Nagaland through democratic institutions become clear. Undeniably, the State has set itself positively on the path of development and notable strides have been made in the field of education. The number of schools and colleges have grown at a faster rate. The following table* will indicate the present position:

1. No. of Govt. Primary Schools	1102
No. of Pvt. Primary Schools	152
2. No. of Govt. M.E. Schools	229
No. of Pvt. M.E. Schools	88
3. No. of Govt. H.E. Schools	61
No. of Pvt. H.E. Schools	50
4. No. of students in Govt. Primary Schools	1,03,902
5. No. of students in Govt. M.E. Schools	34,865
6. No. of students in Govt. H.E. Schools	23,010
7. No. of Govt. Colleges	3
8. No. of Private/aided Colleges	13
9. Total No. of students in Colleges	4,610

(very approximate)

POWER

Nagaland has 7.3 MW of power which is entirely purchased from Assam. Hydel scheme at Dzuza Hydro-electric Project with installed capacity of 15 MW. The Doyang river scheme

*As on December 1984.

is still under investigation.

The following table* shows the power position in Nagaland:

1. Bulk purchase of power from A.S.E.B. (Assam).	18.732 MW
2. Bulk purchase of power from Loktak Project, Manipur	1.03 MW
3. Hydel Power Production from Dzuza Nallah Micro-hydel Project (Electricity production is generally from April to November since this project is fed with run-off water)	0.1184 MW
4. Doyang Hydro Electric Project (Handed over to North-Eastern Electric Power Corporation)	Proposed maximum power generation capacity will be 105 MW. Actual construction is yet to start.
5. Dikhu Hydel Project	With an installed capacity of 1 MW is under construction. This project is scheduled for completion during 1985-86.

TRANSPORT

Nagaland has one hundred and eleven kms of national highway which connects Dimapur with Imphal. It has only eight kms of railway with only one railway station at Dimapur. Nagaland State Transport started operating in 1965 with 15 buses and 8 trucks. The present fleet** strength of NST is 190 buses, 19 trucks, 1 mobile van and 2 breakdown vans.

All the district headquarters and most of the sub-divisional headquarters are now connected by NST bus services. Besides, under the reciprocal agreement with Assam, NST is operating bus services between Dimapur-

End of December, 1984

**As on December 1984

Lumding and Mon-Naganimora via Sonari and Simulguri. NST is also running daily night super deluxe service between Dimapur and Gauhati.

POSTS AND TELEGRAPH

Nagaland is now under the administrative control of a Director, Telecommunications with headquarter at Dimapur. All district headquarters and major towns are having telephone exchanges.

Nagaland Postal Division is now headed by a Director with his headquarters at Kohima. There are three Postal sub-divisions at Kohima, Dimapur and Mokokchung. There are 255 post offices in Nagaland. On-going schemes are there to further expand the postal services.

The systems of transportation and communication have also rapidly expanded though not as yet at a realistic level. As a result of these activities, the different tribes are increasingly coming in closer contacts, their perceptions of social, economic and political goals have broadened and the faith and confidence of the Naga people in the Indian federalism and in the democratic institutions of planning, growth and development has tended to concretise along hopeful dimensions.

NEED FOR A PLANNED AND A RESULT-ORIENTED ADMINISTRATION

While these positive aspects of development deserve applause, yet, there is a crying need to make planning, development, social change and growth more real and more meaningful in Nagaland by taking them to the remotest villages, the farthest regions and the most backward of the tribes. This needs a comprehensive planning and in this direction, the State of Nagaland may establish a state-level Planning Commission on the pattern of some other states in the country. Such a State Planning Commission should be a widely representative body to include a politician, an

Democracy and Development

educationist, an economist, a technocrat, an administrator, a social engineer, an anthropologist, a demographer and an all-round expert on Nagaland. The State Chief Minister should be the Chairman of this State Planning Commission. This Commission should be entrusted with the task of formulating a five-year plan for the State and it should outline concretely the strategies and goals of both long-range and short-range planning and development in Nagaland. To be realistic and effective this Commission must be structured on the principle of devolution of initiative and power in respect of planning so that all levels of authority from villages upwards are involved in it. As stated earlier, the representatives of Village, Area and Regional Councils should be associated in this task, within the financial constraints but based on equity and justice, the Central Planning Commission and the National Development Council should normally accept the proposals of the State Planning Commission. This is clearly a case for democratic decentralisation.

Experiences in our country show that while planning is often grandiose and noble, it generally flounders on the hard rock of implementation. But we are confident that under the new Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, as Chairman of the Planning Commission, the implementation will be faster. In preference to his policy of result-orientation, in Nagaland, it is incumbent that the institutions of Village Councils and other local bodies and authorities should be entrusted with the tasks of implementations of plans for development which specially concern them and for this they should be provided with the necessary resources and the technical know-how and technical expertise.

Nagaland may also very profitably adopt two more institutions of (a) an implementation cell, and (b) a vigilance cell. These cells consisting of persons with absolute honesty and integrity and endowed with necessary dynamism and expertise should assess and supervise, like a watchdog not only the implementation quantum of growth

and development but what is more important they should be a vigil of social and distributive justice. In addition the vigilant cell, may also extend its activities to watching and reporting any type of corruption involved in planning and development and their implementations.

It is hoped, that once these theoretical and practical propositions are gone through, Nagaland will become an ideal all-round developed State in India.

Chapter 11

LOOKING AHEAD

LOOKING AHEAD

The study of the evolution of beliefs, motives, attitudes and valuations of a people helps to delve into the past of one's people and to watch in retrospect the stages of growth through joy and pain, achievement and failure and thus provide increased self-consciousness as to enable it to play meaningful and purposeful roles in the history-making processes. This is one way of freeing oneself from the 'arbitrariness' of growth and development and to move from being 'objects' to becoming 'subjects' of history. Thus the process of looking back has inherent in it the desire to look ahead. Sitting in the midst of the serene and peaceful atmosphere of the hills of Himachal Pradesh my mind therefore goes back to the yester-years of life in Nagaland and the prospects that the future hold out for this State.

In retrospect, the past was once full of fears and uncertainties. At home, in the streets, in conferences and conventions, we debated freely and frankly about our brothers who had gone underground and had started opposing us with violent means and the use of arms. Almost everyday we received news of the killings of our dear ones on both sides and very often we wondered whether our efforts and sacrifices were leading anywhere. Many of our colleagues became the victims of their convictions and many more continued relentlessly in their pursuit for peace and understanding. Though our opponents were few yet they were very determined and often devastatingly so. Something

had to be done to stop the killings as our aim was not to pin them down but to win them over and involve them in the building of a bright future for Nagaland.

It was the struggle between the cessationist views on the one hand and the national integration on the other. It was a fight between the regional interests as against the national interests. Our firm conviction was that the politics that widens the mental horizon and ensures peace and progress and promotes the welfare of the people must have preference over the politics of hatred and bloodshed. Politics that raises the moral and spiritual standards of the people must definitely be capable of overcoming the obstacles and must forebear malice and ill-will. People must realise the non-profitability of the separatist elements. The youth must be drawn towards constructive ways and must turn towards national interests, where they have ample scope to play their role for leadership in many fields. I am confident that the pace is now firmly set for moving towards a peaceful and progressive Nagaland.

SAFEGUARD CULTURE AND SOCIAL VALUES

Social transformation among the different tribal societies of Nagaland was indeed very rapid. The seclusion of one tribe from another, which once was the main obstacle in the path of tribal understanding and co-operation, no longer exists. With the improvement in the communication system, social interaction has become more dynamic. As educational facilities increased and became available to more and more, Nagas began rising above narrow parochial concerns and inhibiting tribal constraints to think of the common good of Nagaland. However, this growth and development has not been an unmixed blessing. The young boys and girls today have almost forgotten their culture and customs pertaining to their specific tribes. The rich social traditions which made life so colourful and attractive are now being completely neglected. The various gennas and festivals which united the

people of a tribe and were the main attractions of village life are no longer observed. Similarly, the feast of honour through which one attained social prestige, is no longer celebrated. In other words, the 'modern' Naga is slowly becoming alienated. He has no roots either in his home, his village, or his society. His education is not even remotely related to his culture, environment or traditional value system. Such an alienation can be seen reflected in the increasing frustration among the youth. This is leading to social decadence. Hitherto unknown maladies like delinquency, mental disorders, drug addiction, alcoholism and even crime are rearing their ugly heads among Naga societies. The traditional family system is also consequently, disintegrating. This is leading to family tensions, separation and divorce. The increasing breakdown of the individual and family harmony is promoting an unhealthy ferment among the community at large. Political corruption, breakdown of social restraints, mass unrest and mob behaviour are some of the evils which have to be fought and kept under check. Education must play a vital role in the smooth and productive transformation of the traditional Naga tribes into modern societies.

These maladies threatening to afflict Naga societies today are a natural but nauseous by-product of a society on the move. The real danger however lies in a passive acceptance of these evils as a 'necessary' or 'unavoidable evil'. I have great faith that given the right guidance and leadership, the Nagas can overcome these problems with the help of their manifold good qualities. They have a deep rooted sense of self-discipline, of sacrifice for the common good, of dignity and straightforwardness. They still retain love and respect for their customs and traditions. The combination of such rare qualities will certainly enable the Naga youth to move ahead in the world without destroying or ignoring their invaluable traditional customs which are unique in the world. Among the many rays of hope one of the prominent one is the pride which the young people show in undertaking

voluntary labour for the community. This is an example of community service done with the zeal of self-help and must constantly be encouraged.

One of the outstanding and charming qualities of India is that it is a great multi-racial and multi-cultural family displaying a vast panorama of variety and heterogeneity within the common bonds of unity and cohesion. The identity of the Nagas as a distinct hue can further contribute and enrich the colourful spectrum that is India. In order to do this the Nagas must undertake a re-evaluation of their social and cultural lives in order to know whether any damage has been caused to these by foreign missionaries or through personal neglect. Some of the traditional Naga art, which is dying out through neglect, must be revived. If the Nagas want, they do have the resilience to do this. One example, mentioned earlier too, is the fact that despite injunctions to the contrary by the foreign missionaries, the Nagas did not give up their traditional shawls. New and better designs have been developed giving a distinctive charm to the Naga appearance. Similarly interest must be revived in the innate Naga artistic sense for wood carvings. Their originality, as displayed in earlier days in the carvings on the king pillar and the wood carvings of the Konyaks must be recultivated. These carvings should be made a part of the Naga social, cultural and religious life. Such carvings could be used both in homes and in churches. A revival of Naga art and culture could do much in making the Naga churches indigenous rather than being pale imitations of churches in Europe and America. Lack of interest in one's originality is the greatest danger towards the extinction of one's social and religious life. The immense potential for creativity among the Nagas and their deep rooted aesthetical sense must be given new impetus for enriching their social and religious life. Attention must also be paid to the Naga instinct for singing and dancing. For centuries the Nagas have expressed their joys through songs and their jubilations through dances till the foreign missionaries tried to stop this

"heathen activity". However, now we recognise that there is nothing 'unchristian' in these activities which are in fact healthy and harmless and promote unity and brotherhood and make life colourful and gay.

Thus while looking ahead to the future of new possibilities the Nagas must also take care to preserve their cultural identity. Some of the important festivals like the Sakhrinyi for the Angamis, Moatsu for the Aos, Tuluni for the Semas ect. must be duly observed. The purpose of these festivals was to invoke the blessings of God on their crops as well as to ask for health and wealth. These festivals could still be celebrated for the same purpose by addressing them to the Almighty God through Christ. Christian festivals like Easter and Christmas as well as the celebrations of the New Year could be done with the help of traditional Naga folk dances and other customary modes of expressing joy. Such an amalgamation of the traditional Naga art and culture with the tenets of faith and articles of beliefs would add to the enrichment of both.

ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

On the economic front Nagaland is poised for greater economic progress which is now dependent on a scientific development of the available resources of raw material, man power and their potential markets. In this crucial period of looking ahead and anticipating all-round progress for Nagaland an important factor is the deployment of the right persons for the right jobs. Thus whether it be the allocation of portfolios to different ministers or the appointment of secretaries to different government departments, care must be exercised to see that a round peg may not go into a square hole. Priorities have to be framed and matters like agriculture, industry, animal husbandry must find prominent places as they have a direct bearing with the day-to-day lives of the people. The main thrust now should be to enrich the countryside through a silent revolution after building up the

necessary infrastructure. Public sector enterprises, like sugar mills, paper mills, plywood factories etc. must further the purpose for which they were built, viz to give opportunities of employment and training to the unemployed educated youth of Nagaland. Such opportunities when properly utilised will lead to further industrial growth in the State. Yet, one can never compromise on the aspect of productivity, and the anti-work and anti-productivity tendencies must be removed from the very beginning. Along with the Public Sector, adequate attention must be given to small-scale and cottage industries in order to generate self-employment schemes.

The educational system of the State has to be made more employment-oriented with more emphasis on technical and vocational institutions. Real education prepares a man for life and livelihood. The educational system should be such as to inculcate pride in the ethic of work leading to self-confidence and self-reliance. To prepare the youth to stand on their own feet while engaging in productive activities should be the aim of education. Cultivation of proper skills and the recognition of merit, will work for the welfare of the people at large. Through such means poverty must be fought as this is the most fertile ground for provoking violent agitations and pushing the country towards anarchy.

In order to look ahead to years of comfort and peace, the different sections of society must work in mutual cooperation with the spirit of enlightened self-interest. Such a spirit will make the business community work closely with the government for the welfare of the people because in this alone lies the welfare of all. The business community can play its full role in activating the State's economy and create income-generating industries. Black-marketeers and profiteers should never be allowed at the cost of the nation. The State has fertile land and the climate is good. There are rich economic potentials. Therefore, with the union of science and technology, tradition and modernity, Nagaland can take a lead in efficiency. But, if there is politics without principles, commerce without

morality, education without character, one cannot expect much for our State and for our people. The only thing is that we must change our outlook and work for the transformation of our economic growth.

Along with this there is the need for comprehensive planning in this direction. The State of Nagaland could do well to establish a State-level Planning Commission on the pattern of some other states in the country. Such a Commission should be broadbased so as to have representatives from all sections of society and disciplines on it. Such a Commission could then outline both long-range as well as short-term strategies and goals for the development of Nagaland. To be realistic and effective this Commission must be structured on the principle of devolution of initiative and power in respect of planning so that all levels of authority from the village upward are involved in it. The proposals made by this Commission should normally be accepted by the Central Planning Commission and the National Development Council within the parameters of their working. This is clearly a case for democratic decentralisation. Experiences in our country show that while planning is often grandiose and noble, it generally flounders on the hard rock of implementation. Therefore, in order to make the planning result-oriented, it is incumbent that the institutions of village councils and other local bodies and authorities should be entrusted with the tasks of implementations of plans for development which specially concern them and for this they should be provided with the necessary resources and the technical know-how and technical expertise.

In this context it may be worthwhile to mention that Nagaland may also profitably adopt two other institutions, viz an implementation cell and a vigilance cell. These cells, if handled by persons of honesty, integrity, and endowed with dynamism and expertise, could serve as instruments of proper assessment and supervision. They could watch over the implementation quantum of growth and development

and also keep sharp vigil over social distributive justice, thereby a check could also be maintained to prevent any corrupt practices creeping into the implementation of development programmes.

POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS

Looking to the turmoils through which the people of Nagaland have suffered in the past, it is essential that they realise and appreciate, the extent of political aspirations achieved by them. It would be interesting for the Nagas to note how far they have come from what their condition and background was many years ago. In this regard it is pertinent to note the reaction of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the chief benefactor of the Nagas, to the Naga demand for a sovereign independent Nagaland. In a speech delivered in the opening session of the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Areas Conference in New Delhi on 7th June, 1952, he said:

In fact, just when a new political awareness dawned upon India, there was a movement in North-Eastern India to encourage the people of the North-Eastern India to form separate and independent States. Many foreigners resident in the area supported this movement. I do not understand how it could be considered practical or feasible from any point of view.

This observation was related to his love for the tribals of India and specially of the Nagas and his approach to them in a spirit of friendship, unity and understanding. Later in 1962 when he piloted the debate in the Parliament on the Thirteenth Amendment Bill and State of Nagaland Bill, he said:

We have always made a political approach, the approach to make these people friends and citizens of India.

This sincere approach and a genuine desire of Jawaharlal Nehru manifested itself in the emergence of Nagaland as the sixteenth State in the Union of India in spite of bitter opposition inside and outside the Parliament. It became an Act of Parliament known as the State of Nagaland Act, 1962 on 3rd September, 1962 and a special provision—Article 371-A, was incorporated in our Constitution to protect the special interests of the Nagas.

Today the Naga people have their own elected representatives in their legally constituted Legislative Assembly. They have a Cabinet and the complete structure of bureaucratic institution. Of course, many things still remain to be done but they should be settled amicably through the mediatory efforts of the Government of India. They must be settled as early as possible by the State Government in its negotiations with the Central Government. All doubts and distrust must be finally set at rest. Some of these issues are:

- (a) consolidating the ethnic Naga groups;
- (b) forests and boundary question, to be examined and settled as provided in Articles 3 and 4 of the Constitution of India; and
- (c) demand for a separate Governor and a separate High Court for Nagaland.

Some of our brethren who are still preferring the life of adventure under all hardships should be persuaded to come overground. It is well known that the cause for which they have chosen to lead the lives of fugitives, needs to be given a careful thought. In the past, our endeavour had been to persuade them to attend the conference table to find a peaceful solution to the problems. Now, the Government of Nagaland and Government of India should offer their proffered hands of friendship towards the Underground and discuss matters in the right perspective. While doing so, the services of some well meaning people can always be utilized to act as mediators. Those underground who decide to come

overground should be given suitable employment in our civil, military and paramilitary forces.

As we look ahead to the future of Nagaland we see that now there is no place or scope for insurgencies in its life. An era of productive peace has to be ushered in so that the fruits of economic planning and development can be shared by all its people. They have missed the fruits of many years of economic planning and development. Nagas must now take active part in the national mainstream. They should no longer entertain the idea of keeping themselves isolated from the mainstream of national life. The new generation of Nagaland should think in terms of what they can give to their country and not what they can get. Today, under the fresh perspectives into national unity offered by the dynamic leadership of Shri Rajiv Gandhi, the Nagas can look forward to better opportunities in all spheres of life and Nagaland looks ahead with confidence, faith and optimism.

Appendices

Appendix 1

LOK SABHA DEBATES

Vol. XLIV 1st-12th August 1960:

Statement 1 August, 1960 13:42 hrs.

STATEMENT: THE NAGA HILLS AND TUENSANG AREA

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Mr Speaker, Sir, I have on many previous occasions referred in this House to the problem of the Nagas. As hon. Members are aware, we have always regarded the territory inhabited by the Nagas, as by other tribal peoples all over India, as part of Independent India as defined in our Constitution. We looked upon all these tribal people as citizens of independent India having all the privileges and obligations of such citizenship.

The Nagas are a hard-working and disciplined people, and there is much in their way of life from which others can learn with profit. We have had for many years Nagas in the Indian Army, and they have proved to be excellent soldiers. Our policy has always been to give the fullest autonomy and opportunity of self-development to the Naga people, without interfering in any way in their internal affairs or way of life.

Unfortunately, the process of devolution of local autonomy could not be implemented in full because troubles arose in the area as a result of the hostile activities of a section of the Nagas. The ostensible object of this hostile section was to carve out an Independent Naga territory entirely separate from India. This was a demand which no Government in India could ever agree to. These hostile elements among the Naga people thereafter took to violent methods, and we had

to take steps to meet these illegal activities. The hostile Nagas indulged in arson, loot and extortion of money from their own fellow Nagas. They also committed a number of gruesome murders. It became our duty to give protection to the large number of other Naga residents of these areas and to meet the menace of this continued violence. The help of our Army and the Assam Rifles was taken in this conflict, and various steps were taken to give the necessary protection and to maintain law and order. This conflict inevitably caused much suffering to the people of those areas, most of whom were anxious to live a peaceful life and carry on their avocations. The story of the last five or six years has been a sad and depressing one. Gradually, there was an improvement in the situation and, over large areas in the Naga districts peaceful conditions were established. One bright feature was the extension of our development work and the establishment of schools, hospitals and communications. But in spite of this considerable improvement, a hard core of the hostile elements continued their violent activities, even though they were driven back into the remoter parts of these hills.

The leaders of all the tribes of the Naga Hills representing their people, who had suffered so much from this conflict and the depredations of the hostiles, decided to make an effort to put an end to the conflict. They called a Representative Convention of the Naga people, drawn from every tribe and area of the territories then forming part of the Naga Hills district of Assam and the Tuensang Frontier Division of the North East Frontier Agency. This Convention met from the 22nd to the 25th August 1957, at Kohima in search, as the Convention put it, of a solution to end the infinite sufferings and bloodshed. This Convention passed a number of resolutions. The principal one requested the Government of India to constitute a single administrative unit consisting of the Naga Hills district of Assam and the Tuensang Frontier Division of the NEFA, under the External Affairs Ministry of the Government of India. This

unit was to be administered by the Governor of Assam as the agent of the President of India, under the Ministry of External Affairs.

I received a delegation of the leaders chosen by the Convention on September 25th and 26th, 1957. We considered the Naga request for a separate administrative unit as a reasonable one. In order to give effect to this proposal, the matter was brought before Parliament, and the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area Act, 1957, was passed. This area thus became an administrative unit and the necessary Regulation was promulgated by the President, making detailed provision for the administration of the new unit. It has since been administered by the Governor of Assam as the agent of the President, under the Ministry of External Affairs.

The Naga people hoped that the formation of the new unit would give them an opportunity of developing their area in the way they considered suited to their needs. Some progress was no doubt made, but the activities of the hostile elements stood in the way of normal development.

Another Convention was, therefore, held at a place called Ungma in the Mokokchung district of the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area in May 1958. This Convention appointed a liaison committee to contact the Underground elements and win them over to support the Convention's policy of securing the maximum autonomy of their area and finally settling the future of the Nagas. Though some among the hostile elements appreciated this approach, broadly speaking, the response was not encouraging.

The leaders of the Naga People's Convention, therefore, decided to draft their own proposals and place them before the Government of India. A third Naga People's Convention met at Mokokchung in October 1959 and prepared a 16-point memorandum for consideration by the Government. The main demand formulated by the Nagas at this Convention was for the constitution of a separate State within the Indian Union to be known as Nagaland, under the

Ministry of External Affairs. with a Governor and administrative secretariat, a Council of Ministers and Legislative Assembly. Provision was also made for the constitution of the Village Council, the Range Council and the Tribal Council to deal with matters concerning different tribes and areas. These bodies were also to deal with disputes and cases involving breaches of customary laws and usages.

A delegation of Naga leaders presented the 16-point memorandum, on behalf of the Naga People's Convention to the Governor of Assam in April last. The delegation expressed a wish to meet the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister informed them that he would gladly meet them but, as he was leaving for England soon for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, the meeting desired by the Naga leaders would have to be held after his return from abroad.

On the 26th July 1960, the Prime Minister received a delegation of 15 Naga leaders led by Dr Imkongliba Ao, President the Naga People's Convention. The delegation placed before him the 16-point memorandum to which I have already referred. The proposals contained in the memorandum were fully examined. The Prime Minister reaffirmed the Government's policy to give the maximum autonomy to the Nagas in their internal affairs. He accepted their request for the constitution of the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area as a separate State within the Indian Union, but pointed out to the Naga leaders that the extent of this territory, its population and its financial resources are such that it would not be able to bear the weight of a heavy super-structure in the administration. The details were discussed with the Naga leaders and a broad agreement has been reached on the following lines:

A new State to be called 'Nagaland' will be established within the Indian Union comprising the territory of the existing Naga Hills and the Tuensang Area. The same person will be appointed as the Governor of Assam and the

Governor of Nagaland and the existing jurisdiction of the Assam High Court over the area comprising the new State would continue. There will be a transitional period during which an interim body will be constituted with representatives from every Naga tribe to assist and advise the Governor in the administration of Nagaland. The Governor will have special responsibility for law and order during this transitional period and for so long as the law and order situation continues to remain disturbed on account of hostile activities. Since the financial resources of the new State will be extremely limited, and large grants from the Central Government may be necessary, not only for the development schemes, but also to maintain the efficiency of the administration, the Governor will have general responsibility for ensuring that the funds made available by the Government of India are expanded for the purposes for which they are approved by the Central Government.

There will be a Legislative Assembly to which the Council of Ministers of the new State will be responsible. Certain safeguards, as on the existing Sixth Schedule of the Constitution, will be provided for the religious and social practices of the Nagas, Naga customary laws and procedure and the ownership and transfer of land. Otherwise, the existing laws relating to the administration of civil and criminal justice will continue to remain in force. Jurisdiction of the High Court of Assam will also continue. Special provision will be made for the administration of the Tuensang district in accordance with the wishes of the people inhabiting that district. There are some other matters of relatively lesser importance on which also full understanding has been reached between the Government of India and the Naga leaders. It is hoped, therefore, that there will be no room for any misunderstanding in future about the Government of India's intention and what they propose to do to implement the understanding reached during the recent discussion.

It is now the intention of the Government of India to give effect to the arrangements reached with the Naga leaders without delay. This will involve amendment of the Constitution and a Bill will be placed before Parliament for approval in due course.

I take this opportunity to express our satisfaction at the agreement reached with the Naga leaders. We have always regarded the Nagas as full Indian citizens. I have said to the Naga people several times in the past that there could be no question of independence for the Nagas. India achieved her independence thirteen years ago and the Nagas are as independent as other Indian citizens. We have not the slightest desire to interfere in the tribal customs and usage of the Nagas or in their distinctive way of life. The Nagas have been anxious to have a separate State within the Indian Union. The agreement now reached with them should enable them to find the fullest opportunity of self-expression and we sincerely hope that the new arrangement will result in the rapid restoration of normal conditions in the area. I must, however, make it clear that no Government can permit hostile activities on its soil, and while we are ready to give our fullest support to those who will cooperate in giving effect to the agreement just reached we shall continue to deal firmly with the hostile elements. This is an unpleasant but necessary task and I trust that the Naga leaders will cooperate fully in putting an end to the disloyal activities of a minority of their people.

Shri Braj Raj Singh (Firozabad): Sir, the Prime Minister was pleased to say that the Government of India will be dealing strictly with the hostile elements. Now, Dr Phizo was reported to be approaching the United Nations Organisation, perhaps. May I know what is the attitude of the Government of India with regard to the activities of Dr Phizo and how do they want to meet the situation?

Shri Raghunath Singh (Varanasi): What is the relevancy of this?

Dr Ram Subhag Singh (Sasaram): I only wish to point out one thing. I fully support the agreement. But I do not clearly understand the meaning of the word 'Nagaland'. I, therefore, request the Prime Minister and the Government to carefully name that area. It may be named Naga State or Naga Pradesh; Nagaland is something bigger.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is true; but that word was accepted because of the strong desire of the Naga leaders to have it.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharya (West Dinajpur): Do they want to have an outlandish name? Nagaland is outlandish. (*Interruptions*).

Shri Raghunath Singh: It should be something like Naga State or Naga Province.

Shri Vidya Charan Shukla (Baloda Bazar): It has been reported in the Press that the affairs of the Nagaland, by convention, will be looked after by the Ministry of External Affairs. We want to know why this special provision by convention is being established so that this new State in the Union will be looked after not by the Ministry of Home Affairs but by the Ministry of External Affairs. We are rather concerned about this new procedure that is being evolved. And, we would like to have a clarification from the Prime Minister about it.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: This is not a constitutional matter. No amendment of the Constitution will lay down the administration in charge of an area. The Government of India looks after it; and it is a matter for the President, acting through his Prime Minister, to decide as to the allocation of work between the ministries. But, it has been stated here that two years ago, in 1957, it was the request of this Convention that the Ministry of External Affairs, which is generally looking after the NEFA area should continue to do so. Since it was their request, and, in fact at that time we were going to continue to have it, we said so. It is again their request. As said, this is not going to be put down in the

Constitution; and it is a matter entirely for us to determine. But, since it is their wish we have mentioned it here.

Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun): Is it also part of the agreement that we can never take it away from the Ministry of External Affairs to the Ministry of Home Affairs? Is it a commitment?

Shri Asoka Mehta (Muzaffarpur): We can understand the Prime Minister looking after that area. The Ministry of External Affairs deals with external matters and this is an internal matter. Why should this internal question be looked after by the External Affairs Ministry and why should we be a party to that kind of agreement? I can understand that they would have liked to be looked after by you as the Prime Minister of India. But I cannot understand how this idea came to be entertained today.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have endeavoured to explain the causes historically. The North East Frontier Agency region has been directly connected with the External Affairs Ministry. The NEFA is as much a part of India. And, in fact, the House may know that in the Budget estimates of the Ministry of External Affairs very large sums of money are provided for the Assam Rifles even. So, it has been dealt with in that way because it was considered rather a special region requiring special treatment. I am not justifying it. I am merely stating the historical background of it.

Later on, a special service was started which was quite a different service from the other services. There was the Political Service which was also put under the Ministry of External Affairs. In these services people were taken on special experience, on special aptitude, special toughness to live in isolation and away from the normal amenities of life and all that. They were taken from the Army, from the Civil Services and from outside, so that it has been connected in that way. And, when in 1957 this Convention of people expressed a wish that they should be one unit, they expressed also the wish that the External Affairs Ministry

should be in charge. In fact, we told them that this is a matter entirely for us to determine. But since they were anxious to lay stress on it we put that in. But, it is not, as I said, a matter of the Constitution or anything. We can change this by agreement or whatever it is, later. But, for the present anyhow, it will continue in that way.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: What about my question?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: But, at the present moment, this unit is under the External Affairs Ministry, and it is really a continuation more or less of this. Of course, a change is made that the officers and others that serve there are from that political service that has been specially recruited.

14 hrs.

Shri Tyagi: I want to seek further clarification. I want to know whether this agreement is as such a formal agreement and will go into the Constitution or whether it is an informal talk with the Prime Minister and certain conclusions have been arrived at in some talks with a non-official body and also whether Parliament will have the final say with regard to the changes which have to be effected in the Constitution. Will this agreement go as a legal document or is it a type of treaty?

Shri Asoka Mehta: How can there be a treaty? I cannot understand.

Mr Speaker: Would the hon. Member consider the desirability of reserving all this for the Bill?

Shri Asoka Mehta: But we must surely understand what is being done. If I have understood it clearly, a sixteenth State is going to emerge in the Indian Union. If it is going to be the sixteenth State it will have the same status as the other fifteen or it may have a different status. If it has a different status, there must be reason why a different status is given to it. We want to understand whether as a result of this agreement, a sixteenth State is going to be born in the Indian

Union or there is something different. Again, wherein does this External Affairs Ministry come in if it is the sixteenth State?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: This State will be the sixteenth State, as the hon. Member says, subject to certain provisional arrangements, etc. The period is indefinite because much depends upon other factors, law and order, etc. Naturally, it is the sixteenth State. By virtue of its size etc. It will function without, I hope, that complicated structure of administration which the other States require. Now, the agreement arrived at is an agreement between the Government of India and the representatives of the Naga People's Convention. That has to be translated in legal, constitutional terms. The agreement itself is not a legal document in that sense but it will have to be translated in proper terms and drafted properly. The essentials of it have to be included in the Bill not the smaller matters. The basic things will have to be included and the Government of India hope and trust that these essentials would be accepted by this House. Minor things of course do not much matter.

Dr M.S. Aney (Nagpur): May I ask one clarification? Would it be necessary to have another agreement with them to make any changes in this agreement, if it is incorporated in the Constitution as it is and if a change is necessary later on or this House, on its own authority, can change it?

Shri C.R. Pattabhi Raman (Kumbakonam): I take it that this agreement is an understanding or arrangement and not agreement proper.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Agreement means agreement—nothing else.

Shri Tyagi: How can there be an agreement between the Government of India and the people of India? The Government of India cannot come to an agreement with the people of U.P. or of Punjab. They are subordinate to the Government of India.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Agreements are made between

any two parties, subordinate or not. We need not quarrel about the language used. If this House approves it, it will become in a legal and constitutional form a part of our Constitution—not as I have read it but the basic thing. The basic thing is the creation of a certain State. Obviously this House will have to approve it before it becomes so. If it approves of it, it becomes a part of our Constitution. This agreement ceases if it is a part of our Constitution. But certainly Government is bound to put it forward as such and endeavour to get it through the Parliament.

Shri Thirumala Rao (Kakinada): The word 'agreement' confers some rights on the Naga people which they are not entitled to. They are as good citizens of India as any other and have equal rights with the other citizens of India. No such special status was given to the people of Maharashtra when Maharashtra was carved out of India or when Andhra Pradesh was created. Now, a special status is sought to be conferred on some citizens of India who are part and parcel of India and who owe allegiance to the Constitution of India. So, we request you to consider whether the word 'agreement' should be given that status in the statement.

Raja Mahendra Pratap (Mathura): I fully support the creation of the Nagaland. When Soviet Russia can have 149 autonomous States, we can also have 70 or 80 States. Take for instance, Punjabi Suba, U.P. can be divided into two or more states: there will be State with Nagpur as headquarters, Himachal Pradesh can be a separate State and so on.

Appendix 2

Constitution 28, August 1962 4500 hrs.

(THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT) BILL AND STATE OF NAGALAND BILL

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Almost exactly two years ago, I made a statement in this House in regard to Nagaland and in regard to a certain agreement that had been arrived at with the leaders of Nagaland, of the Naga Convention party there, so that what we are doing today is in continuation of that agreement that we came to. It is not an entirely new thing. An agreement was arrived at and it has been acted upon during these two years to the extent it could be, without having an amendment of the Constitution etc.

We would have had this earlier but for the fact that the situation in Nagaland was not normal and has not been normal, as the House very well knows, and we wanted it to approach normality before we took this step. I do not pretend to say that it is absolutely normal, but, undoubtedly, it is much better now than it has been. And the Provisional Council of Nagaland that was formed as a result of that agreement has been functioning, on the whole, with success. And as they desired that further steps should be taken now, we thought that the time had come for us to implement that agreement of two years ago fully.

In effect, therefore, this House had accepted the basic point that these Bills raise, that is, of Nagaland with certain powers etc., apart from details which are given in the Bills; this House has accepted it and we have acted upon that for all this period.

Now, I am happy to be able to move this amendment because it is in continuation of the policy that we have followed in regard to Nagaland throughout. We have never relied on using military forces merely to deal with the situation there, although unhappily, we had to use them because of the activities of certain hostile elements there. We have always made a political approach, the approach to make these people friends and citizens of India. It was in continuation of that that we had these conventions there which produced ultimately, two and a half years ago or thereabouts, a sixteen-point memorandum which the Nagas themselves brought before us and placed before us, that is, the Naga leaders of that Convention. We accepted it then not fully but we accepted it almost entirely except for some minor changes which we could not give effect to; and the matter was one of agreement between the Government representatives and the members of the Naga People's Convention. I submit that this matter, the basic matter, has been accepted, not in the form of a law, but it was placed before the House and it agreed that in the circumstances that should be done. Now, I am coming forward with detailed provisions to give effect to that agreement arrived at and broadly accepted by this House.

I do not propose to go into the history of what happened in the Naga Hills, because this matter has been before us in various forms, and many questions are asked from time to time. After the transfer of power in 1947, the Naga Hills district and the Tuensang district were incorporated in the North-East Frontier Agency, and they were included in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution.

Later, some people organised armed resistance, and not only armed resistance, but there was a succession of murders, forcible exactions, arson etc. With great reluctance, we had to take measures, that is military measures or police measures to deal with the situation. May I say here that our military and police forces and the Assam Rifles have had an exceedingly difficult time there, not difficult in the

military sense, but difficult in the sense that they had always to be held back by us so that innocent people might not suffer? It was very difficult. It was not organised armies that we were dealing with but snipers and others. Occasionally, some innocent people did suffer. We are sorry for that. We even took steps to punish those who were guilty, although they might have been innocently guilty, that is, our forces. And yet, in spite of all this, in spite of all the care that we have taken, the kind of propaganda that has been made by Mr Phizo and some of his lieutenants has been quite extraordinary and quite outrageous in its character.

I cannot guarantee, naturally, that in several years of operations, things have not been done by any individual member of the police or the Army, which are undesirable. We are trying to stop that and our policy has been that these should not happen, but under the extreme stress and strain of this place, something may have happened; wherever we have found out, we have taken steps against them. But I do wish to pay a tribute to the general behaviour of our Army and the Assam Rifles in these Hills in the face of exceedingly difficult circumstances; it is not regular fighting, but picking them off from behind, from bushes, ambushes and the rest.

So, this thing increased, The terrain was very difficult, and there was a frontier also, the frontier with Burma. Later, the hostile Nagas used to retreat on the other side of the frontier where we could not follow them; we could not go into the Burmese territory against the wishes of the Burmese or without their permission, and so, they found shelter there and came back when they could.

Now, this went on for some time when this Convention, to which I have referred, was held. The people of Nagaland became exceedingly weary of the suffering they had to undergo and all the exactions that were made from them by the hostile elements, and they gathered together in a big convention. I think that was the first convention.

Shri Hem Barua: On the 26th August.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It was in 1957.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty (Barrackpore): 22nd August.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have not got the exact date; it does not matter. But the first demand they made on us was that the Naga Hills area and the Tuensang Division should be made into a separate unit under the External Affairs Ministry. We acceded to that demand, so that although in theory and constitutionally these areas were still parts of the Assam State, in effect they were separate, made into a separate unit under the External Affairs Ministry that is, under the Government of India. This has continued since then.

Now, I wish to draw special attention to this fact that this has remained a separate unit, because now that it is proposed to form the State of Nagaland, it is largely renaming the area plus some powers given to it, Assembly etc. But the unit has been separate for several years. It is not creating a separate unit. It has been separate by the decision of Parliament and it has functioned as such. So that all that these present Bills intend doing is to rename it—in fact, even the naming part has been practically done—and to give it certain autonomy. The separation from Assam took place some years ago.

It was in December 1957 that this was separated and this was accompanied by the general amnesty, for the release of convicts and undertrials responsible for offences against the State. A second Convention of the Naga people was held in May 1958. They went to the extent of appointing a liaison committee to contact and win over the misguided Nagas in support of the Convention's policy of securing the maximum autonomy for the areas inhabited by the Nagas in order that they can share the responsibilities of the government of Nagaland.

This effort, however, did not meet with success. Then a third Convention was held at Mokokchung in October 1958

and this prepared the 16-point memorandum for the consideration of Government. Their main demand was for the constitution of a separate State within the Indian Union to be known as Nagaland. Then a delegation came under the leadership of Dr Imkongliba Ao, President of the Convention, and met me, two years ago, in July 1960. That resulted in this agreement, and subsequently the matter being placed before Parliament. A Council was formed and during the last two years it has been functioning as a preliminary to the changeover; progressively, the Governor, although in law he had authority, has acted in accordance with the wishes of the Council of the Nagas.

The House may remember the tragedy when that great leader of the Nagas, Dr Imkongliba Ao, was shot down by some of the hostiles. That itself indicates the kind of people the hostiles are—shooting down one of their own great leaders who himself had at one time supported them earlier but had subsequently found that this would lead to no results, and had worked for an agreement and for peace and harmony there.

In the agreement that was arrived at, there was a transitional period, as desired by the Naga leaders themselves, during which an Interim Body consisting of 45 members chosen from the tribes of Nagaland and a Council of not more than 5 members from the Interim Body were to be constituted, to assist and advise the Governor in the administration of Nagaland. These interim arrangements were brought into force and had been functioning satisfactorily. Elections to the village, range and tribal councils had been held and the administration of Nagaland has increasingly become the responsibility of the representatives of the Naga people themselves.

Apart from the desirability of this change on the merits it is something to which we are completely committed. I would submit that even this Parliament is committed to it, apart from the minor points of it, and any hesitation in giving effect to it will not have good results; it will show that we

give our word and cannot keep it, which is not a good thing for a government and certainly not for Parliament.

The State of Nagaland Bill we are considering has certain special provisions. One is that for the time being the Governor will have special powers in regard to law and order and finance, but as soon as the situation is normal, that will not be so. That can be declared by the President. I may add that all those special clauses have been made by the Naga leaders. As for finances, the actual income of Nagaland is very little at present. It could be more, but it is little. The Government of India has been spending a large sum of money in welfare schemes and we thought that the Governor should have special powers to see that the finances were not misused.

These are the two temporary powers that he is given. As soon as the situation improves, the Ministry which will be in existence in Nagaland will be in charge completely.

But there is one part of this State of Nagaland, which is the Tuensang Division or District. That has been treated separately, not because we wanted to treat it separately but because the Tuensang representatives wanted it to be treated separately and the Naga representatives who had come to that Convention agreed with that. This area is somewhat more backward than the other two districts of Nagaland. Therefore, it has been decided that this area will have a Regional Council, and the Governor will play a little greater part in that area for the first ten years, the period being shortened if need arises.

I should like to stress that this proviso about the Tuensang district is not of our seeking. We agreed to it because the representatives of Tuensang and the representatives of the Nagas put it forward, and we thought it was a proper provision to make for the future, because conditions are different, and they were a little afraid, that is; the people of Tuensang, that their interests might not be properly looked after otherwise.

13 hrs.

It is proposed that the Governor of Nagaland will also be the Governor of Assam, or the other way about, the Governor of Assam will be the Governor of Nagaland; that is, he will be there not as Governor of Assam, but as Governor of Nagaland.

Also, it is too cumbersome a procedure to have another High Court. The High Court of Assam will continue to function for Nagaland.

I do not wish to go into further details of this. Naturally, in forming a State with all kinds of special provisions, the Bills are rather lengthy. For instance, we do not wish to interfere with their tribal customs, tribal ways of justice, and therefore we have left these tribal laws intact, and their tribal councils will deal with them; and an exception has been made about that, as well as about transfer of land.

Thus, by these Bills, we do an important part, that is add to the number of autonomous States of the Indian Union. The State is a small one, and the State, for the time being, will have certain restrictions on its autonomy in regard to law and order and finance, and certain special provisions in regard to the Tuensang District. Otherwise, it will be a full State of the Union, and in course of time, I hope as the situation returns to normality, it will have all the other powers of the State of the Indian Union.

I think that considering the background that we have had, and the trouble we have had in this area, it is a happy consummation that we solve it not purely by military means, but by this political and friendly approach, making them equal partners in this Union of India to all the other States and to ourselves. I beg to move.

श्री रामेश्वरानन्द (करनाल): अध्यक्ष महोदय, हिन्दी में भी ज़रा समझा दीजिये क्योंकि यह महत्वपूर्ण विषय है। हमारे प्रधानमंत्री जी हिन्दी भी जानते हैं और वह हिन्दी में भी समझा सकते हैं। बिना इसको समझे हुए हम कैसे इस के पक्ष में अथवा विपक्ष में मत दे सकेंगे?

अध्यक्ष महोदय: मैंने आपसे पहले भी एक दो बार कहा है कि थोड़ी सी मदद जो आप प्रधानमंत्री जी से मांगते हैं, आप अपने साथ बैठे हुए किसी माननीय सदस्य से भी मांग लें।

श्री रामेश्वरानन्द: आप से मांग रहा हूँ लेकिन आप देते नहीं हैं।

अध्यक्ष महोदय: सारी चीज़ का तर्जुमा करना मेरे लिए मुश्किल होगा।

श्री रामेश्वरानन्द: आपके सामने हम भी बैठे हैं और हमारी कठिनाई को भी आपको अनुभव करना चाहिये। कैसे हम अपना मत दे सकेंगे जबकि इसको हम समझ ही नहीं पाये हैं। ऐसी बात नहीं है कि मैं अकेला ही नहीं समझा हूँ बल्कि और भी कई माननीय सदस्य हैं जो इसको समझे नहीं हैं।

अध्यक्ष महोदय: ऐसा करना हमेशा ही सम्भव नहीं होता है। यह चीज़ पहले से ही चली आ रही है, पहले से ही ये अंग्रेज़ी में मूव होते आ रहे हैं। हमने आहिस्ता आहिस्ता हिन्दी की तरफ जाना है। जहाँ तक हम पहुँचे हैं उससे आगे जाने का हम यत्न कर रहे हैं।

जो बिल पेश किया गया है, उसको आपने पढ़ा ही होगा और उसको समझने की कोशिश की ही होगी। उन्होंने बताया है कि एक असें से 1957 से उनको वैसे तो हक दे चुके हैं और वैसे ये करने चले आये हैं, तमाम हक़ का इस्तेमाल करते चले आये हैं। मगर अब उनको एक अलहदा नाम देना है और कुछ ताकत देनी है। इसका मकसद है और इसी चीज़ को सामने रखते हुए उन्होंने इस बिल को पेश किया जोकि आपके सामने है।

श्री रामेश्वरानन्द: आवश्यकता क्या पड़ गई, यह नहीं बताया आपने।

Mr Speaker: Order, order. Now Swamiji would allow me to proceed. Motion moved:

“That the Bill further to amend the Constitution of India, be taken into consideration.”

“That the Bill to provide for the formation of the State of Nagaland and for matters connected therewith, be taken into consideration.”

अब तो महाराष्ट्र और गुजरात अलग अलग हो गये। पंजाबी सूबे के बारे में भी शायद ऐसा ही होगा...

कुछ माननीय सदस्य: नहीं, नहीं।

श्री बड़े: इस तरह की प्रेशर थ्यूरी पर अगर आप चलते हैं तो यह गलत बात है। हमारे यहां पश्चिम में भी आदिवासी हैं। उनकी भाषा भी एक है और एक प्रान्त के ही वे रहने वाले हैं। कल को वहां से भी मांग उठ सकती है कि जब आपने तीन साढ़े तीन लाख नागाओं के लिए नागालैण्ड दे दिया तो क्यों नहीं आप हमारे लिये भी, आठ लाख के लिये भी लावा लैंड दे देते। तब आप क्या करेंगे। अगर वह भी दे देंगे तो कहां तक आप जायेंगे।

अब भी वक्त है कि इस तरह की पृथक्तावादी प्रवृत्तियों पर आप रोक लगायें। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप आज आश्वासन दें कि आइंदा और अधिक भारत के टुकड़े नहीं होंगे। आपको चाहिये कि आप कहें कि अबकी बार माफ कर दीजिये आइंदा और टुकड़े नहीं होने दिये जायेंगे।

एक तरफ तो नैशनल इंटेग्रेशन की बात चल रही है, उस कमेटी की मीटिंग चल रही है और वहां पर यह मांग की जाती है कि देश एक होना चाहिये, इधर आप और टुकड़े करते जा रहे हैं। जवाहरलाल जी की यह बात कहां गई जो उन्होंने कही थी कि इण्डिया इज आवर कंट्री और जो उन्होंने जयभारत का अर्थ बताया था कि **वी आर आल वन**। क्यों आप हिन्दुस्तान के छोटे टुकड़े करते जा रहे हैं। क्यों नहीं आप चार जोन्स रखते और यूनिटरी फार्म आफ गवर्नमेंट करते। इससे आपका खर्च कम होगा और आपको टैक्स बढ़ाने की जरूरत महसूस नहीं होगी। नागालैंड का पूरा खर्च आप उठाने जा रहे हैं। इतना कुछ करने के बाद भी गवर्नर को बहुत ज्यादा पावर्स दे दी गई हैं। ऊपर से तो बहुत शो कर दिया है कि नागालैंड बनाने के बारे में यह बिल है और हम उनको आटोनामी देने जा रहे हैं लेकिन अन्दर से यह दूसरी ही कहानी कहता है। इस वास्ते मैंने अमेंडमेंट दिया है कि इसको सिलैक्ट कमेटी के पास भेज दिया जाय। इसका एक कारण यह भी है कि 371 जो आर्टिकल कांस्टिट्यूशन का है, उसका पांचवां शैड्यूल तो शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज के बारे में और छठा शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइबल एरियार्ज के बारे में है। साथ ही छठा जो शैड्यूल है वह 1935 का जो एक्ट था और उसमें ट्राइबलज के बारे में जो एक पालिसी निर्धारित की गई थी, वही पालिसी और उसी लैगसी को इसमें भी कैरी आउट किया गया है। इसलिये मैं चाहता हूँ कि अगर इसको सिलैक्ट कमेटी में भेजा जाय तो वह इस पर विचार कर सकेगी कि दरअसल मैं गवर्नर को कितनी पावर्ज दी जानी चाहिये। जो नारे आप इक्वैलिटी, फ्रैटर्निटी, लिबर्टी और जस्टिस के लगाते हैं अपने कांस्टिट्यूशन में, उन नारों के अनुसार यह अमेंडमेंट्स हो रहे हैं या नहीं, इसका परीक्षण किया जाय, इस वास्ते मैंने अपने संशोधन रखे हैं।

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Speaker, Sir, the House has on the whole welcomed these Bills. Some hon. Members have pointed out some defects in them and have suggested

some amendments. I shall deal with them a little later. But on the whole every hon. Member who has spoken, except one or perhaps two, has welcomed the whole idea underlying these Bills. I am happy about that.

Before I deal with these Bills I should like to say a few words about what our fundamental approach should be. That approach has been, not from today but from the day of independence and even before that, that we shall build up a united India with the goodwill of the Indian people preserving the variety of India in its unity. That has been the approach and not the approach fundamentally, of the hon. Member opposite, Shri Trivedi, who believes in everything which divides India although he talks about the unity of India. I was amazed at the crudity of his approach and his expressions in the House today which, if given effect to, would split India into a thousand fragments. He calls himself a nationalist and yet his nationalism is confined to the frog-in-the-well policy where he believes that he is a nationalist and everybody else is not a nationalist; the Muslims are not nationalists; the Christians are not nationalists. Everybody who is not a Hindu is not a nationalist. Apparently that will be the next stage.

Shri U.M. Trivedi: That is not what I have said. I never meant that.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That is what he said about Muslims to my ears. But I am very glad that he does not believe in that.

So, I take it that Shri Trivedi believes that India consists of Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Buddhists and atheists and that everybody who lives in India is a full-fledged nationalist. Let us understand that.

Shri U.M. Trivedi: Everybody who believes in India and believes himself to be an Indian has got a right to live in this country. That is what I believe in.

Shri Buta Singh (Moga): Please do not forget or try to neglect the Sikhs.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member has now

defined his creed. Everybody who lives in India and believes himself to be an Indian has a right to live in it. That right, of course, he has in law in spite of Shri Trivedi. But the point is whether he is in any way in his opinion any the less nationalist than he is. I think personally—and I speak with great respect—that he is not a nationalist—I mean Shri Trivedi—because nationalism is something which includes everybody in India.

Shri U.M. Trivedi: To make that statement that I am not a nationalist is going too far.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I said so with all respect. Nationalism cannot be confined to a religion, however great that religion may be. Nationalism is something to the nation and everything pertaining to that nation comes within its scope. The hon. Member and some others, perhaps very few in this House fortunately, and some outside believe in that and talk in terms of nationalism as if that was their private preserve and everybody who did not fall in line with them is outside that domain. That is the mind which, I can very well understand, does not appreciate this Bill. It talks about disruption. The hon. Member who spoke last went on talking about disruption because a State was being created. I do not understand that. I am not quite sure if his idea was that India should be one unitary whole and the creation of a State is disruption. He did not say that but I think this was the trend of his argument. I do not understand that. That is fundamentally opposed to our approach which is that the great variety of India should be contained within our unity. India has grown great in the past and has lived thousands of years. If India or the great men of India in the past had followed the policy suggested by the hon. Member opposite, India's greatness would not have risen to the heights that it did. Indian culture spread all over Asia. Indians went abroad. Others came here, and they were absorbed here. Their ideas were absorbed; their religions were absorbed, so that India is a country of many religions which are all Indian in a sense because they have been here for hundreds and

hundreds of years. India is not a one-religion country or a one-language country. These are the varieties that have come together to make this great Indian nation. And what makes an individual or a community or a nation great is its wideness of vision, its receptiveness, not its exclusiveness, not untouchability. Unfortunately, exclusiveness came to India and made a very great people narrow-minded and small and led to their fall.

Well, I hope that we aim in a different way, in a different direction. We are not exclusive. And I hope that a time will come, as it is rapidly coming, when even nationalism is not enough. When people are going to the stars and to the moon and that, nationalism, that is, the concept of national boundaries etc. is getting rapidly out of date. However, that is not for the present. And, therefore, our whole approach has to be to welcome all people who live in India as of one family, whatever religion they may belong to, and whatever customs they may have, and work in co-operation with all.

This Bill, as I stated is right Bill. I am talking on the merits of the two Bills. But, apart from that, it is the product of an agreement, an agreement not only based on the original sixteen-point memorandum which came two years ago, which Mr Imkonglibo Ao brought here with his colleagues. But even after this Bill was drafted, it was largely by agreement with their representatives, that is, the Naga leaders, who came here and had seen it, so that many of the criticisms made in regard to some provisions in it are rather beside the point.

For instance, some of the criticisms made were about the Governor's powers. First of all, we should realise that so far as this Bill goes, it establishes a full-fledged State. It is not a restricted State. It is a full-fledged State with certain temporary restrictions. The temporary restrictions are, first in regard to the law and order situation, secondly in regard to certain finances, and thirdly in regard to the Tuensang district. These are the three where there are temporary restrictions. For the rest, it is a full-fledged State.

Now, in regard to the first restriction in regard to the law and order situation, hon. Members will realise, as our Naga friends realise, that the situation, still in Nagaland is one which is not quite normal. It has to be dealt with abnormally. We hope that it is much more normal than it was, but it has to be dealt with abnormally. Therefore, it is desirable for the Governor to shoulder that burden partially; of course, partly, the Ministry there will shoulder the burden, but it is not right to leave it to them entirely; it is a heavy burden. In regard to that, it is stated here that as soon as the conditions return to normal, the Governor will report to the President to put an end to these special provisions, so that it is a temporary provision which is necessitated by the conditions of today.

As for finances, we have rather an odd position here. These finances mean, apart from small sums, the moneys given by the Central Government by way of subvention. Of course, subventions are given to other States too, but a great part of their expenditure comes from their own revenues. But, here a small part only comes from their own revenues. Since large sums are going, it was thought that the representatives of the Central Government, or call them what you will, should be partly responsible for the disposal of these funds, which mostly, goes, of course, for developmental works. It requires some experience and some judgement as to how to do it. They can raise their own revenues. All revenues will, of course, be spent with their concurrence. The final decision in matters of this kind will temporarily be the Governor's.

As for the Tuensang district, whatever has been put down is word for word what was suggested by the representatives of the Tuensang district and agreed to generally by the Naga leaders. For various reasons, into which I need not go, the Tuensang district people require it. They wanted it. We agreed to it. It did not strike us to have special provisions for them, but when they wanted it and when the Naga leaders agreed to it, we had no choice in the matter.

So far as the Governor is concerned, he is not grand Moghul sitting there and doing things. The Governor is the servant not only of the Central Government, not only of the President but of this Parliament. He has always to function under strict limitations and whatever he does come up here and before Government.

Shri Bade: If there is a difference of opinion, the Governor's opinion will prevail. That is the provision here.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Shrimati Renu Chakravartty asked: why not a separate High Court; why not a separate Governor? Well, why a separate High Court?—I ask. Here is the High Court of Assam which, I am glad to say of all High Courts in India, has no arrears of work.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Because it is very efficient.

Shri Hem Barua: That shows how smart we are.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: To create another High Court there for a relatively small area, with not enough work, with very little work, is hardly worthwhile. Of course, it is open to the High Court, specially it is always open to the Chief Justice, to have a Bench there or do anything of that kind. That is a different matter. But it would not be worthwhile from any point of view to increase the number of High Courts for such small areas.

As for a separate Governor, there is nothing in these draft Bills which prevents that. At the present moment, I think it is desirable to have the same Governor. I do not say it is likely that it will continue to be desirable. But I say that there is nothing to prevent that.

There is another thing. The Governor of Assam has a special responsibility in regard to NEFA. The North-East Frontier Agency used to include the Tuensang region that was separated two or three years ago by Parliament. Conditions are different in the two places. Nevertheless, he has a special responsibility. That is why, if I may say so, we have to take very special care about whom we send as Governor to Assam. He has, of course, the same functions as Governors have elsewhere plus something plus NEFA. . .

Shri Hem Barua: The Governor of Assam is the most heavily worked Governor in India.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, he has heavy work and great responsibilities. We have had a very eminent Governor who has done very well and we are sending very soon a very experienced public servant there, because he has to face difficult problems. Therefore, it is purely from the point of view of practicality that it is desirable to have the same person as Governor of Nagaland. Of course, he is Governor of Nagaland because he is separately Governor of Nagaland, but there would be no point in appointing a Governor there who, the chances are, would not be so experienced.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: What would be his seat of office? Will it be Shillong or Mokokchung in Nagaland? When you are giving him such large administrative functions—not only political functions, but also administrative functions—would it not be better that you have a separate Governor?

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: By rotation. He will function in both places by rotation.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: He will go to both places.

Some hon. Members thought that by creating this Nagaland the financial burden would be very great, Rs. 4 crores, but they did not seem to realise that those figures, that that burden is more now. The fact is that the area that is going to be called Nagaland has been separate, a separate entity all along; nothing is being separated. It was separated some time back, some years back, it has been functioning like that. Now that separate entity is being given a certain name. The separation does not take place now. It took place years ago, but it is given some autonomy, and the amount, what has been spent on that separate entity thus far, is likely to be spent in future. The separation again does not add to the expenditure at least I do not suppose it will add very much.

Then, some one asked me about NEFA and Manipur and Tripura. NEFA stands on an entirely separate footing, and

so far as we are concerned, we have, at the present moment, no particular intention of changing the administration there. It is not very easy to apply some general rules everywhere regardless of conditions. So far as Manipur and Tripura are concerned, presumably fairly soon, my colleague, the Home Minister would put forward suggestions or proposals for the Union Territories, and those proposals are based on giving them a large measure of autonomy.

I really do not know why I should take the time of the House when the House is so agreeable to these Bills, but I would like to say that something has been said about Assam, about the Assam Assembly resolution. It is perfectly true that the Assam Assembly viewed this question with some distaste, and the resolution they passed was presumably passed with some reluctance, but we must recognise first of all that this was not a new thing for the Assam Assembly. This very Bill which has come up today was envisaged more than two years ago, they knew it, we knew it, it is not a surprise to them.

Secondly, whatever they may have had in their hearts, this area was separated from Assam some years ago completely. They had nothing to do with it in the last two or three years. It is only recognising a fact, and recognising another fact which I am prepared perfectly to admit, as we should admit whenever there is some failure on our own part. What happened in this Naga territory, and the troubles we have had and the Naga people have had, have distressed us exceedingly, distressed us for a variety of reasons, because first any such problem distresses one, and secondly, that we should have to use the military and our police force to deal with people is always distressing. But what I was going to say was this, that in some measure at least, the fault was ours and that of the Assam Government—I am including both the Central Government and the Assam Government. It may be our fault because we did not pay enough attention to begin with. We were busy after independence with our own innumerable problems, and perhaps if we had dealt with it,

and if the Assam Government which was directly in charge had dealt with it, somewhat differently, the consequences might have been different. That may be. I am not blaming anybody. Because I am including ourselves. There it is, but a certain situation having arisen, we have to find a way out of it. There is no use getting annoyed at everything that happens. And, I do think that the way out which we have found is a good way on the merits and it is a good way above all because I think it is satisfactory to a great majority of the Naga people. And, what is more, it will, I earnestly hope, bring about not only superficial changes but changes of heart among the people so that there may be co-operation between all of us.

It is interesting to see, talking about the Assembly, that the two Members—as far as I can see only two from Assam spoke—have supported these Bills heartily and fully. And, the speech which I am sure all hon. Members must have intended to with great interest here, was the speech from my young colleague, the representative from the Nagaland itself. He spoke with fire, young as he is and with greater authority because he comes from that place, and knows the place and he knows the people and he is one of the people. Therefore, I venture to say that these Bills should be formally approved and passed as they are.

Mr Speaker: I will now put the amendment of Shri Bade first.

Shri Bade: Yes, Sir; both the amendments.

Mr Speaker: I will first put the amendment regarding the Nagaland Bill because I have said that the division will take place at five.

The amendment was put and negatived.

Mr Speaker: Then I will put the motion to the vote. The question is:

“That the Bill to provide for the formation of the State of Nagaland and for matters connected therewith be taken into consideration.”

The motion was adopted.

Mr Speaker: I will now put the second motion also. The question is:

“That the Bill further to amend the Constitution of India be taken into consideration.”

This requires a statutory majority, as hon. Members know. If there are some Members outside we may ring the bell. Every hon. Member shall be in his seat.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Shall we go into the lobbies or will the votes be taken by the automatic machine?

Mr Speaker: If the automatic machine works, we will try.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: It often does not work; it is much safer to go into the lobbies.

Shri Tyagi: It is not necessary unless a division is called for.

Mr Speaker: If it does not work, then we shall distribute chits to the hon. Members and collect them. Before that I have to put Shri Bade's amendment to this Bill to the vote of the House. I shall now put Shri Bade's amendment to the vote of the House.

The amendment was put and negatived.

Mr Speaker: Now, I shall put the motion for consideration.

The question is:

“That the Bill further to amend the Constitution of India be taken into consideration.”

The Lok Sabha divided.

Some Hon. Members rose—

Mr Speaker: One by one.

Dr Calaco: Sir, I vote for ‘Ayes’; my machine is not working and so it has not been recorded.

THE CONSTITUTION (THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT) BILL, 1962, AND THE STATE OF NAGALAND BILL, 1962.

Mr Chairman: For the sake of convenience and economy of time both the motions regarding the Constitution (Thirteenth Amendment) Bill, 1962, and the State of Nagaland Bill, 1962, may be considered together and moved

by the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): I am grateful, Sir, for suggesting that these two motions should be taken up together. I shall move them one after the other; of course, in the consideration at the second reading stage they may be taken up separately clause by clause. But they are wholly interdependent, and it is difficult clearly to consider one without keeping in mind the other.

Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill further to amend the Constitution of India, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

Sir, I also beg to move:

"That the Bill to provide for the formation of the State of Nagaland and for matters connected therewith, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

This House is aware of the history behind these two Bills. About two years ago or thereabout this matter was considered together with the representatives of the Naga People's Convention, and ultimately a certain settlement was arrived at about the formation of the State of Nagaland. It was, I admit, somewhat unusual for a relatively small area to be formed into a State. There is nothing against it, and the peculiar circumstances prevailing there—I am not referring to the disorder and the law and order difficulties that we have had although they are very much before us—the special circumstances of the place induced us to agree to the proposal that they should be made a State. But although we agreed to that, there were certain difficulties in the way; first, the law and order position, and secondly, the financial position of the State was not a very happy one. It depended very largely on subventions made by the Central Government. Mostly subventions are for development of the area. It was, therefore, decided in agreement with the representatives of the Naga People's Convention that there should be for a certain period certain powers reserved to the Governor, certain powers relating to the law and order position

and to financial position. These are only till such time as the Governor thinks that they are necessary. The Governor of course functions as a representative, as an agent of the Central Government, and he will be in constant touch with us. Now, as a matter of fact, although Nagaland was not declared to be a State of the Union, it has been a separate entity for some years. Constitutionally, I suppose, it has continued to be part of Assam, but some two or three years back it was formally separated and constituted into a separate entity under the Union Government, and Tuensang Division which was a part of NEFA. North East Frontier Agency, but which is inhabited by Nagas was attached to this Naga area. Now Tuensang is somewhat different from the rest of Nagaland because, I do not wish to use the word, but in some way it is a little more backward, and the Tuensang people's representatives themselves were a little anxious that they should not be put completely on the same level as the rest of Nagas, and they wanted a period when they should be both joined on to this of course as a State but where they would have a Regional Council and the Governor would have certain additional powers in regard to the Tuensang Division.

The whole point is that these two Bills resulted from the agreement arrived at with the representatives of the Convention of Naga leaders as well as Tuensang leaders, and I submit, sir, that having accepted that and created a separate entity and later accepted the idea of a State, you must abide by the agreement arrived at. Making changes here and there would probably not fit in with the scheme and would not fit in with the agreement arrived at. For instance, the reserve powers of the Governor both in regard to the Tuensang Division and generally in regard to Nagaland were specially agreed to by the representatives of the Convention who met us, and indeed they originally passed their resolution in a convention and subsequently came to discuss details with us and we agreed to them. So, I would beg of the House to consider these as a whole and not amend them so as to take

away any essential part of them which was agreed to.

Some hon. Members perhaps do not like the name of the State to be Nagaland. Frankly the Naga leaders were anxious to have that name, and we thought that it was best to please them in this matter when they attach so much importance to it. There was no particular reason against it and so we agreed, and I hope this House will agree.

Having decided on creating a State of Nagaland, which is a full State of the Indian Union, I should like to say, subject for a temporary period to some reserve powers in the hands of the Governor, it becomes necessary to amend the Constitution, and the first Bill that I have moved before the House is therefore, the Constitution (Amendment) Bill. The second deals with details about the State of Nagaland. I submit, Sir, that these Bills should be accepted by this House and adopted. I would like to say that the law and order conditions in Nagaland, though very much better now than they were are still not wholly satisfactory. Only about two or three days ago a member of the Interim Council of Nagaland, Mr Phom, was murdered, and that itself is evidence of the abnormal conditions that prevail there and the necessity of some reserve powers to be given in the hands of the Governor. But even so, even before these Bills are passed, although in theory the Governor had all powers, our instructions to the Governor were, when they were carried out, to consult the Interim Council on all the measures to be taken and to act as far as possible in accordance with their advice. He has done that. Now, of course, with the passage of these Bills, the Governor would all the more accept the advice of the Government of Nagaland that may be formed under these Acts. But it is desirable, in view of these law and order difficulties, for the Governor to have authority to deal with any emergency situation that might arise. As the House knows, the matter is being dealt with, to some extent, in parts of Nagaland by the Assam Rifles and by some of our Army people. It is easier

for the Governor to deal with it than for any other State authority.

I submit, therefore, Sir, that these two Bills—the Constitution (Thirteenth Amendment) Bill, 1962 as well as the State of Nagaland Bill, 1962—be taken up for consideration.

The questions were proposed.

Mr Chairman: Any Member desiring to speak may take part in the discussion of both the Bills. I would call upon Shri Gurupada Swamy to speak.

Shri M.S. Gurupada Swamy (Mysore): Mr Chairman, Sir, I welcome the Bills as anybody should do, granting the right and privilege of self-rule to the Nagas for which they have been fighting since more than a decade. These two Bills mark the political settlement of a problem which was afflicting not only the Nagas but also many people in the rest of the country. The Prime Minister was particularly right in stating that the Nagas should be treated a little bit differently because the conditions there are not yet settled, they are still not Maharashtrian. Therefore, the entire duty is on our side. There are no rights which we may claim from them today. I support the measure.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Madam, I would like to express my gratitude to all the Members of the House who have spoken and welcomed this measure. In particular, may I express the feeling which I have had and which I am sure, every Member of this House will share, of gratitude to the last speaker Shri Jairamdas Daulatram, for the fine, eloquent and wise speech that he has delivered? And he delivered it out of his knowledge, not merely from a theoretical approach, because he was himself concerned with Nagaland and Tuensang Division, and as Governor of Assam, it was his special responsibility to deal with the NEFA area and other territories. What he said was so much to the point and so relevant to the conditions there that there is little that I can add.

I would, however, like to explain one or two points. Prof. Ruthnaswamy said that this Bill was not artistically drafted.

Perhaps, he is right. But we were not writing on a clean slate. We had to incorporate in it an agreement arrived at with the representatives of the Naga People's Convention, and that perhaps to some extent, came in the way of artistry. Also we were not writing a full constitution for the State, but rather putting in this agreement that we had, and that introduced some special features which otherwise would not have been there. If the agreement had not been there and only a new State had been created, the Bill would have been a very small one, not a whole complete introduction of a State. All that the Constitution contains. Their charter is not this Bill. Their charter is the Constitution of India plus this Bill. So, it is true and may be that if we had the advantage of some of the hon. Members of this House, we might have improved the language here and there. For instance, Mr Mani has suggested an amendment which, *prima facie*, appears to be a better form of words. Yet I dare not accept it because it is a form of words and it is not of vital consequence, and I would rather adhere to what the agreement lays down than change it. Apart from that, Mr Mani objected to the phrase "internal disturbance" and said something about it. I would like to remind him that in our Constitution in Articles 352 and 355 these words occur repeatedly. For instance, Article 352 says:

"If the President is satisfied that a grave emergency exists whereby the security of India or of any part of the territory thereof is threatened, whether by war or external aggression or internal disturbance, he may, by Proclamation, make a declaration to that effect."

Again in Article 355 it is stated:

"It shall be the duty of the Union to protect every State against external aggression and internal disturbance".

So, it is not a new phrase that is used here. I would submit that though the words of Mr Mani's amendment read better, nevertheless, because of the fact that this represents more the agreement, it should be there. Also, frankly, I should not like that this Bill should be delayed and go back to the

Lok Sabha again.

Now, many of our hon. Members will have in mind the history of the past ten or twelve years in regard to this area. I do not wish to go into it. Mr Jairamdas Daulatram referred to an incident where the killing of the postal runner led to retribution and revenge on a big scale. It may interest the House to know that this incident had nothing to do with our forces, it was one tribe against another, and yet this is one of the major charges that Mr Phizo brings against our forces. He is collecting all these charges and says that we sacked and killed sixty persons to which reference was made. It was the early days when this thing happened. Since then, much has happened.

Now, from the very first stage, I cannot say the first stage but from the earliest period, the then Governor of Assam, Sir Akbar Hydari, dealt with the Nagas and came to some kind of agreement with them, the ten-point agreement, I think, it is called. I confessed frankly to him that we were so wholly occupied with our troubles here—it was immediately after independence and we had the vast migration and other troubles—that although I was the Prime Minister I had not considered the ten-point agreement. Later on, when the Constitution was being drafted, the Sixth Schedule was introduced specially for these tribal areas in Assam, Nagaland, etc. and although we all took part in it, perhaps if we had the knowledge that we possess today, we might have worded it differently. The question of amending the Sixth Schedule has been with us for the last several years not merely because of Nagaland but because of the hill areas, the hill districts and the autonomous districts. Even then, according to the Sixth Schedule, these hill areas including Nagaland were given a considerable measure of autonomy for their districts. Our first approach, therefore, was to give them autonomy, may be less or more, but to give them autonomy. Subsequently, we repeatedly discussed the matter in the early days with Mr Phizo himself and then with others representing the Nagas, hostile or not, and always we

made it clear to them that we want to give them the fullest autonomy within the Indian Union. It is true that I told them that I was not prepared to discuss any secession from the Indian Union but short of that I was prepared to discuss anything with them.

So, this is not a new development of policy or a change in our outlook that has induced us to bring this Bill but rather certain developing circumstances. We could not by ourselves enact anything like this unless they were willing to have this and unless we agreed with them. This process took a number of years. They held then their first convention and then a year or two later the second convention was held which was largely attended by the representatives of the various tribes of Nagaland and in the third convention in another year they passed and formulated this paper of sixteen heads of agreement. It was only then that the matter became ripe enough for us to consider. We did not want to produce a constitution for them and thrust it on them. We wanted it to come from them so that they may have a feeling of getting what they wanted, not that they had to accept whatever was given to them.

These areas were troubled areas, and as the House knows, constantly there were attacks, there were ambushes and people were killed. Large numbers of people have been killed in these areas. While we had to deal with them in the normal manner, maintain normal law and order with the help of the police or the military we had always in view the fact that we had to win over the Nagas and make them feel that they were one with us. When they talked of independence to me, I asked them, "What do you mean by talking about independence? You are independent just as much as I am and you have as much freedom and authority as any other person in India." Now, to get this idea accepted by them was a problem. It was, as Mr Jairamdas Daulatram said, a question of some emotional integration. You cannot do that unless you realise completely that all the steps we are taking, army steps, military steps, were essential, were

necessary. They were essential, they were necessary and we could not do without them but some other process had to be adopted. We tried to start it although it was difficult in the circumstances. You cannot have two rather contradictory processes, that is, a military process fighting people and a conciliatory process. They somehow conflict and yet they were carried out during all these years, except for the early two years or so when it was difficult to have any developmental work there, to have any schools, even the old schools ceased to function because of the terroristic tactics of the hostiles, yet, within the last two or three years, we have started developmental works. I am sorry I have not got the figures but hundreds of schools were started, a number of high schools, some colleges, technical institutes, etc., were started and in the field of agriculture too much was done. All this was done partly because the people required it and partly, and deliberately, to make them feel that they can live a free and happy life so that this then is the developmental policy that has been pursued right from the beginning. Sometimes circumstances made it difficult for us to go ahead in this direction as much as we wanted but I am happy that at present although we are not wholly out of the wood, I admit, yet I feel we are very near the edge of it and the situation is much better even though, as I said, a young man, a member of the Naga Council, was shot dead only two or three days ago. It shows how the people are functioning. The members of the Naga Council and other Naga leaders are co-operating. Our officers and others are constantly facing danger and even death. I am happy that this stage has been reached and these two Bills will soon, I hope, be the law of the land and will establish the new State in the brotherhood of the States in India and I am sure that they will have this idea of emotional integration and feeling that they are part of India and that they can live freely as independent citizens governing their own State as they wish and they will be partners in the larger adventure that we are undertaking in India. This idea will grow there.

Now, Madam, although the State is just like any other State—it has to be realised that it is a full State—certain powers are reserved temporarily for the Governor. It is not permanent. As soon as he thinks or feels that the situation so necessitates, he will give up his power and the State will have full autonomy and powers.

Shri Dahyabhai wanted to know whether the Chief Minister will be called the Prime Minister or the Chief Minister. He will be called the Chief Minister, of course, like any other place. Well, in regard to the powers of the Governor, apart from the fact that this is part of the terms of the agreement, I would like to assure the House that it was not as if we laid great stress on these powers. They were agreed to without much discussion and as for fixing the powers of the Governor in regard to the Tuensang district, pressure came from them, not from us. Actually, pressure came from the Tuensang representatives who, I believe, were a little nervous at being put under the new Government of Nagaland to begin with. As Shri Jairamdas Daulatram said, the people of Nagaland minus Tuensang are educationally and otherwise more advanced. And these Tuensang people wanted, if I may use the word, some protection and it was their proposal, their insistence that the Governor as representing the Government of India should have these powers for ten years or so. At the same time they wanted to join. They have got a Regional Council. The House will observe that it has been laid down that one of their number will be among the Ministers of Nagaland Government. So, while they become part and parcel of this Nagaland State they want some kind of a slightly separate existence for ten years. And we agreed and I must say that the Nagaland people also agreed. This was not a disputed point. This was an agreed point so that broadly speaking all the powers that are given to the Governor were parts of the agreement, of course, broadly speaking. But what I meant was they did not give rise to much argument and I think we should keep them. All these things depend very greatly on

the persons who exercise them. The Governor, of course, is the representative of the Government of India, of President; whatever he does he refers to the Government of India, that is, the External Affairs Ministry, but apart from that the personality does count, and we have taken trouble therefore to choose for the Governors of Assam rather specially. A distinguished Member of this House, Mr Jairamdas Daulatram was there as Governor. The Governor there has a double function or triple function. Not only is he the Governor but he is the direct representative of the Government of India for the North-East Frontier Agency and used to be for Nagaland also. There was Mr Fazl Ali who became very popular and indeed I understand that the people are putting up a memorial to him in Nagaland in the shape of a college called after his name. Then there was General Shrinagesh who was peculiarly suited to the place because unfortunately in the last few years there have been these military operations there and we thought a military person of note would be able to understand them and co-ordinate civil activities with the military. And now within a few days we are sending one of our most experienced officers, Shri Vishnu Sahay. So, what I wanted to put before the House was that the Governors we send there are even more specially selected than Governors elsewhere where they have to be only purely constitutional Governors.

I think Mr Ruthnaswamy laid great stress on a separate Governor for Nagaland. Well, to begin with we have this: it is open under the Act, there is nothing to prevent separate Governors being appointed when considered necessary, but at the present moment we did think and we do think that one Governor is more desirable. It is not so much a question of more money being paid although there is no reason why we should waste money; it is not that question. The question is, the Governor of Assam even under the present circumstances has special responsibility for NEFA; they are special responsibilities and much the same I should say for Tuensang and because of that we thought that one man

dealing with these areas with relatively common problems would be desirable. And some of our friends in Assam are regretful about Nagaland becoming a separate State. Although they accept it they are naturally rather sorry although I might remind the House that separation really came in effect some years ago when it became a separate entity. It is only constitutionally it has come now. So, although it is a separate State we thought it would be a good thing if one or two links were left. One link was the common Governor. Another link was High Court. They do not interfere with the internal freedom of the State and we thought it would be a good thing to have these two links because after all they are neighbours and they have to carry on in a friendly way.

Then Mr Nafisul Hasan said something about Clause 27 of the Nagaland Bill. He seemed to think that there is some difficulty about this. There is nothing extraordinary about this. This has been repeated in many other places. If you see Article 3 of the Constitution it says that Parliament may by law form a new State by separation of territory from any State, increase the area of any State, diminish the area of any State, etc. It did not require, therefore, a constitutional amendment if only this had to be done. Articles 2, 3 and 4 refer to this being done by law. Now Clause 27 of the Bill refers in particular to certain adaptation of a law for a particular area, the substance remaining the same. Sometimes very minor things come in the way and if you apply the law as it is in its rigidity, it may not fit in with the Tuensang district. It is an obvious condition and very different. But it is not construed entirely differently but accepting the substance minor matters may be there. It is a very desirable provision which has been given I believe in other Acts too. My colleague here reminds me that in the recent Act passed about Nagar Haveli this particular phrase occurs.

Mr Dahyabhai Patel said something about the name, Nagaland. Frankly I would have preferred—not that I have any objection to Nagaland—Naga Pradesh. We did suggest

that but they have strong sentimental attachment to Nagaland. They have been calling it this way for some years past and sometimes, as hon. Members will realise, sentiment is a strong thing and we did not think that we should by-pass or come in the way of that sentiment. Well, it did not make any difference and so we accepted Nagaland.

Mr Dahyabhai also referred to the question of land in Nagaland and he referred to Kashmir too. May I remind him that the rule in Kashmir that no non-Kashmiri can possess land is a very old one, I should think at least 100 years old? It is from the 19th century; the old Maharajas introduced it. The original reason for its introduction was rather a wise one. They did not want crowds of Britishers to come in, occupy land and settle down there, because the climate of Kashmir was peculiarly suited to them and peculiarly pleasant. They did not just want it. At some time about a hundred years ago, there was actually a rule that at one single time not more than three Britishers could remain in Kashmir, only a fiat of the then Maharaja. Gradually, those rules were relaxed, but this rule continued. At that time chiefly Britishers went there. Very few Indians went there. Some Indians went from Lahore or other places of North India. Then, came the further reason that monied Indians go there and buy up the land there—it is a poor country and the people are poor—and thereby deprive the people living there of their land. I think it is a very healthy provision and I do not see why even now it should be changed. I cannot buy land there. I may by origin be a Kashmiri, but do not come within the definition. Otherwise, a large number of people, rich people, who have no particular alignment with Kashmir, if I may say so, historically, culturally or otherwise—only for the climate may go there—buy up large quantities of land, thereby depriving the other people, who are possessing it, of land later on. Now, here in our Constitution, in regard to hill areas, Nagaland and the other hill districts of Assam, there is already a provision in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution preventing land being

alienated to any outsider. It is a very good provision too, because otherwise the people of those areas, who feel passionately about their land, would gradually be dispossessed of it. Difficult situations would arise. So, I think some reference has been made even here that land in Nagaland will only vest in the new State. No outsiders will be able to go there. Clause 24 says:

"All property and assets situated in, or used for, or in connection with the administration of, the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area and vested in the Union immediately before the appointed day (other than any property or assets so vested for purposes of the Union) shall, as from that day, vest in the State of Nagaland".

Anyhow, it is for the people of Nagaland to make their rules about their land.

I have nothing further to say in the matter. I entirely agree with Mr Jairamdas Daulatram that we should pass these Bills unanimously and I regret I cannot accept the amendments that have been proposed.

Shri A.D. Mani: On a point of clarification. I should like to ask the Prime Minister one or two points for clarification. At page 2 of the Bill, proposed Article 371A (1) (a) (iii) says:

"administration of civil and criminal justice- involving decisions according to Naga customary law." Does this mean that in so far as those decisions conflict with the Indian Penal Code, the Civil Procedure Code and the Criminal Procedure Code, these Codes will have to be set aside?

The second point I should like to ask is whether the right of the Supreme Court to hear appeals against decisions according to the customary law of the Nagas is admitted in this Bill or has been denied in this Bill.

Shri A.K. Sen: The whole scheme of the Bill is that no law of the Central Government will have automatic application to the new State. They will apply only if they are so applied by the new Legislature of the new State of Nagaland. That is the whole scheme.

The Deputy Chairman: I shall first put the motion regarding the Constitution (Thirteenth Amendment) Bill, 1962, to vote.

The question is:

"That the Bill further to amend the Constitution of India, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The House divided.

The Deputy Chairman: Ayes-175; Noes-Nil.

Appendix 3

Nagaland-Assam boundary problem is basically a case for the return of the forests and other areas, the ownership of which lies with the Nagas but transferred and included within the neighbouring districts of Assam by the then British Government solely for the purpose of their administrative convenience. From the standpoint of the people of Nagaland, the case is merely restoration to the Nagas, those Naga territory transferred out of the erstwhile Naga Hills district.

The transfer of Naga territories stemmed from:

- (1) The unholy hasty decision for indiscriminate encroachment for expansion of tea gardens;
- (2) To provide a buffer zone between the tea garden and the then administered Naga areas;
- (3) To convert the forests (owned by Nagas) into Reserved forests for extraction and exploitation of valuable species of timber available in the areas.

Even when Naga Hills District (now Nagaland) was a part of Assam, the Naga people became very apprehensive when the British Assam Government started to settle people in the forests belonging to the Nagas. They had then asked for the restoration of the forests and other areas which were transferred out of Naga Hills to other adjoining districts of Assam.

Before the advent of the British Government prior to 1826—the Ahoms and the Nagas were independent of each other and there was a clear cut political boundary between the two. The known history of Naga relationship with the Ahoms, (dated back from the early Thirteenth Century A.D.) was maintained through a confederation mainly for the purpose of trade.

To stop occasional territorial encroachment from both sides, permanent embankment known as the Ladoigarh and the Naga-bunds and the Dhodarali were raised on the ground as a boundary line between the Ahoms and the Nagas bordering the present Lakhimpur and Sibsagar Districts. The fact that these embankments were the boundary between the Ahoms and the Nagas are supported by records, some of which are reproduced below:

“..... The Naga territory was never considered as integral portion of the sovereignty of Assam.”¹

“..... The hilly track inhabited by the various tribes known to us collectively as Nagas had never been subjugated by the Ahoms and it was no part of the British policy to absorb it....”²

“The Mouzadar who appeared before me states the boundary marks are on the Ladoigarh. The road (Ladoigarh) referred to, however, is certainly regarded by the Nagas as their boundary; and we have never yet to their knowledge claimed any other, the grant of land for tea cultivation to the south of it (the Ladoigarh) is a step much to be regretted; and on political grounds, Government, I think, might interdict cultivation being commenced on these estates to the south side of the road still lying fallow either wholly or in part. For that matter I should suppose there can be little doubt that on grounds of public policy Government might even go a step further and cancel these grants. Of course no fresh grant will be given in the direction referred to, and inquiry shall be instituted in regard to the circumstances under which the revenue survey has carried on operations to the south of the Ladoigarh.”³

¹J. Butler, *A Sketch of Assam*, 1847, p. 152.

²Edward Gait, *History of Assam*, p. 336.

³From Lt. Col. W. Agnew, Offg. Commissioner of Assam to the Secretary to Govt. of Bengal, Judicial Deptt. (No. 185) dated Gowhatty, the 10th June 1869).

"On consideration of all the circumstances the Lt. Governor thinks it right to make the prohibition to grant fresh land south of the Ladoigarh road permanent."⁴

"It appears that the Ladoigarh line is assumed by the Nagas to be the boundary, and that the propriety of the claim seems to be in some measure admitted by the local officers who regret that some grants have been made beyond the line; and the late Lt. Governor accordingly prohibited any fresh grants beyond the line."⁵

"The line already demarcated would never do for an innerline for that no better selection could be made than the Revenue boundary."⁶

"As a boundary, the Ladoigarh is better than any natural boundary which could be selected nearer to area in the hills."⁷

"On this point (Ladoigarh as a natural boundary) I am to state that His Excellency in Council considers the views expressed by you to be quite correct."⁸

NAGA HILLS BOUNDARY UNDER BRITISH RULE

The Burmese invaded Assam early in the nineteenth century, but they were driven out with the help of the British in 1826, and the Britisher took over the administration of Assam about the Eighteen Thirties.

During this period, the Nagas continuously raided the plains of Assam, mainly for the purpose of head-hunting,

⁴From Hon'ble A. Eden Secretary to Govt. of Bengal, Judicial Deptt. to the Offg. Commissioner (No. 530T dated Fort William the 30th Sept. 1869).

⁵No. 2733 dated Fort William the 19th June 1871 from H.L. Harrison Offg. Junior Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal to the Commissioner of Assam.

⁶From Deputy Commissioner Sibsagar to the Secy. to the Chief Commissioner of Assam No. 4 dated 6th May 1874.

⁷Letter No. 142 dated Shillong the 20th May, 1874 from Chief Commission of Assam to Secy. to the Govt. of India, Foreign Deptt.

⁸Letter No. 186R dated Fort William, the 4th August, 1874, from Govt. of India to Chief Commissioner of Assam.

and in order to protect the British territory, the Britishers, having failed to appease the Nagas by following a policy of non-interference had to take over the Naga territory gradually. At first the Naga area was constituted into a Sub-division under Nowgong District in 1852, to look after the then Naga administered areas, with Asaloo as the Sub-divisional Headquarters.

When British rule was further extended into the Naga territory it became necessary to carve out a Naga district, separated from the plain districts of Assam. The first Naga Hills District was then formed in 1866. The first boundary of the then Naga Hills District was notified in 1867, with Samagooting as first District Headquarters. This notification was issued in 1875. (Notification No. 89. No. 3386 P. dated Fort William 24th December 1875 Copy enclosed as Annexure A).

After the Naga Hills District Headquarters was transferred from Asaloo to Samagooting, the area around Asaloo, which was inhabited by the Zemi Nagas (Aroong Nagas) and the Cacharies became too far for effective administrative supervision from Samagooting, and so a new Sub-division, known as North-Cachar Hills Sub-Division, was formed in 1870 and placed under Cachar District. This was the first Naga territory transferred out from Naga Hills to a district in Assam. This area is known as North Cachar Hills District, at present inhabited by Zemi Nagas and the Cacharies and a few Kuki village.

Aroong Nagas (this tribe is variously called Aroong Nagas, Kutcha or Zemi Nagas) is a branch of the Kutcha Nagas of the Naga Hills, speaking the same language, their blood relations spreading from the villages of Manipur and Naga Hills through to the border of Jaintia country to Jowai Sub-division.

Though Asaloo, in the country of Zemi Nagas, a major tribe of the Nagas, became the first Administrative Headquarters for the whole of Naga territory, to suit the administrative convenience of the foreign rulers, the tribe

was apportioned to different administrations, namely, Nagaland, Assam and Manipur, reducing the status of this tribe into a minority of each of the States.

The following extracts from the Government proceedings reproduced show the background of the case:

"Colonel Houghton's opinion after visiting Asaloo and examining the Naga Frontier, was that it would be of no advantage even if it were practicable to locate an officer on the Frontier of the Naga country and that no compromise was possible short of asserting our sovereignty over the whole of the Naga tribes not included within Manipur or Burmah, and gradually to bring them to order.

"I hazarded a doubt which it would be less creditable to abandon it than to maintain a more nominal control, which offered scarcely any protection to life and property within it, though it was sufficient to saddle us with the responsibility for such protection.

"I should more particularly define the tract I had in view and to which this report specially relates."⁹

"North Cachar then is normally held to be a Sub-division of the Nowgong District in Assam, and is bounded on the North by the River Jumoona and the hill country of the Meekirs and the Rengma Nagas; on the south by the Burail mountains and the South Cachar District, on the East by the Kutcha and Angami Nagas; and on the West by the Kapoli and Ompong rivers and the Cosyah and Jynteah Hills territory.

"I would instruct Lieutenant Gregory to proceed early in the ensuing cold weather to Samagooting, an Angami village once occupied by us.

"We would thus advance our position steadily from one

⁹No. 394 dated the 20th October 1965 from Lieutenant Colonel H. Hompinson, Agent to the Governor General N.E. Frontier and Commissioner of Assam to the Government of Bengal.

village to another, making some of our ground as we went."¹⁰

"...The Lieutenant-Governor therefore, desires entirely to support the recommendation contained in paragraphs 30-40 of the Colonel Hopkinson's letter and proposes to direct Lieutenant Gregory to remove his headquarters from Asaloo to Samagooting, to abolish Asaloo as Subdivision."¹¹

"....Holding these views, His Excellency in council accepts the plan recommended by the Lieutenant Governor and authorises effects being given as soon as the season may permit, to all the agreements specified in para 39-44 of Colonel Hopkinson's report."¹²

"....I have now to give some account of a group of tribes inhabiting part of the great mountain system which lies to the South of the Assam Valley-tribes many in number and differing in characteristics but which extended under the generic name of Naga from the Bori Dehing River and Singapho country of Lakhimpur west to the Kopili River in Nowgong and south to the confines of Manipur and Cachar."¹³

"I may here explain that the total area of all "Nagaland" theoretically under the political control of our Government is about 8,500 Sq. miles and I had roughly estimated the population in that area to be at least 300,000 souls."¹⁴

Broadly speaking, the Naga territory under the occupa-

¹⁰Para No. 14 of letter No. 3525 dt. Fort William, 1st June 1865 from Hon'ble A Eden, Secy. of Bengal, Judicial Department to the Commissioner of Assam.

¹¹No. 30T dated the 26th January 1866, from H.A. Eden, Secy. to Govt. of Bengal to the Secretary to the Govt. of India, Foreign Deptt.

¹²No. 538 dated Simla the 8th June 1866 from Hon. W. Muir, Secy. to the Govt. of India, Foreign Deptt. to the Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal.

¹³Alexander Mackenzie pp. 77.

¹⁴Routh note on Angami. Nagas by John Butler, J.A.S. Vol. ILIV No. 4, 1875 pp. 307.

tion of Assam today falls under two categories:

- (1) From the north-eastern Naga area bordering Tirap district of Arunachal Pradesh to the Lakhimpur and Sibsagar districts of Assam.
- (2) Naga areas transferred out from old Naga Hills district to Nowgong, Sibsagar and Cachar districts from time to time relating to the south in South-western Naga area falling into Sibsagar, Karbi Anglong districts (Mikir Hills) and North Cachar Districts.

Initially the Britishers recognised the traditional boundary of the Ahoms and the Nagas as the political boundary; but later on when the British Government set a firm footing in Assam and particularly after the Assam Bengal Railway was constructed in and around 1899, for their own administrative convenience, big areas of Naga territory were transferred to the adjoining district of Assam in 1898, 1901, 1902/1903 and 1923. All these transfers were done without the knowledge and much less with the consent of the Nagas. Opening up of large numbers of tea gardens within the Naga territory required shifting the 'Inner Line' deeper inside Naga Hills to exclude the garden so opened from Naga Hill District and transferred to the adjoining districts of Assam as indicated in the following documents:

"The rapid extension of tea cultivation along this frontier gave rise to considerable correspondence between 1869 and 1873. The limit of the revenue jurisdiction of Lakhimpore and Sibsagar to the south was, as above, notified, the old frontier road called the Dhodor Allee and Ladoigarh road. Although the government claimed as British territory the whole country upto the boundaries of Manipur and Burma, it had hitherto treated the Nagas tract as outside Assam for all civil purposes. The tea planters had long since in many places, both in Lakhimpore and Sibsagar, taken up lands south of the revenue line, in some instances paying revenue to us, and in other to the Naga Chiefs. The earlier settlers found it to their interest to conciliate the Nagas, and troubled themselves little about Government protection.

But now the fashion claiming police assistance in every little difficulty came into vogue, and the Government had to consider what course it should adopt. The question acquired prominence from a quarrel between a planter and some Changnoi Nagas in Lakhimpore early in 1871, which led to serious apprehension of Naga raids."

"At Length in 1872 the occurrence of a massacre of Borlangia Nagas perpetrated by Kamsingias with two miles of a tea garden showed that measures for defining clearly the limits of Naga territory towards the plains could no longer be deferred. Under the provisions of the Inner Line Regulation already described, such a boundary was accordingly laid down, compensation being paid to the Nagas for the area occupied by these tea gardens which lay beyond the Inner Line."¹⁵

"At present the greater part of the Rengma Mikir Hills and the whole of the Nambor forest reserve are included within the jurisdiction of the Naga Hills district, and this arrangement was convenient so long as the headquarters of the district were at Samagooting, but it has become very embarrassing since the transfer of the headquarters to Kohima. Proposals were accordingly made some years ago to exclude this territory from the Naga Hills District, but they were allowed to remain in abeyance pending the extension of the Assam Bengal Railway to this locality. The railway is now approaching completion, and the necessity of exercising large gangs of coolies employed on construction works was brought prominently to notice during the last cold weather. Encouragement has also been offered to the extension of tea cultivation in the Nambor Forest along the side of the railway, and if practical effect is to be given to this policy it is necessary that this tract of the country should be transferred to districts in which the Labour and Emigration Act and other laws and regulations affecting Labour and the tea industry are in force. It is with regard to these

¹⁵Alexander Mackenzie, pp. 98-99.

considerations that the proposals which were submitted by Mr. Davis in 1891 (vide correspondence ending with Mr. Wace's letter No. 28118 B dated the 28th November 1891) have now been renewed by the present Deputy Commissioner, Captain Woods, practically without any modification."¹⁶

"Experience has shown that although these tracts could be conveniently administered from Samagooting, it has been impossible to exercise an efficient control over them since the transfer of the headquarters to Kohima.... At present there is work, and important work to be done by an Executive Officer along the railway lines but when the railway is completed, this work will cease and nothing will remain but the disposal of ordinary cases of railway jurisdiction and it is, therefore, to meet present rather than future requirements that Mr. Cotton is anxious that early arrangements should be made."¹⁷

"This proposal would leave jurisdiction over the Assam-Bengal Railway line from Lunka via Lumding upto (but not including) Dimapur in the Nowgong District. It would add to Nowgong a further portion of the Mikir Hills and large tract of level and undulating plain country... any question connected with the extension of tea cultivation could be as easily disposed of from Nowgong as from Golaghat."¹⁸

"The Chief Commissioner recognised that there would be some advantage in transferring the whole area to the Golaghat Sub-division of Sibsagar... It is in this direction that the Chief Commissioner anticipates the earliest development of the schemes of colonisation and extension of cultivation which he has submitted to the Government of India. For these reasons the Chief Commissioner thinks it

¹⁶Letter from the Chief Commissioner of Assam to the Commissioner of Assam Valley No. 432 Rev. R. 3675 dated Shillong the 3rd August, 1898, Proposal of Mr. Davis 1891.

¹⁷No. 822 Rev. R. 5648 Chief Commissioner of Assam to Commr. of Assam Valley.

¹⁸Letter from Chief Commissioner of Assam Valley, No. 432, Rev. R. 367 dated Shillong the 3rd August 1898.

will be better to adhere to redistribution proposed by Mr. Davis and Captain Woods."¹⁹

"The whole of the large reserved Nambor Forest would be transferred to that Sub-division, and also the whole area of the Rengma Hills, which now lies within the Naga Hills District."²⁰

"....I am of opinion that the boundaries proposed by Mr. Davis are the best and cannot be improved upon taking into consideration the convenience of the people who inherit certain portions of the tracts. In addition to the land which Mr. Davis proposed to handover to Sibsagar, with the permission of the Chief Commissioner, I now propose to handover another small portion of land belonging to the Ao Sub-division, which lies in the plain and is suitable for tea cultivation."

"You will observe that it is further proposed by Captain Woods to transfer to the Sibsagar District a small tract of country in the Mokokchung Sub-division, which lies in the plains, and is suitable for tea cultivation. The Chief Commissioner is of opinion that this should be done."²¹

AREA TRANSFERRED OUT OF NAGA TERRITORY TO ASSAM AND NOW CLAIMED BY NAGAS

Sector A

(i) From the Teok river on the North-east Nagaland-Arunachal Border to Tijit river (Tawkok) the old boundary between Assam and Nagas boundary is clearly demarcated on the ground by Ladoigarh. The Konyak Nagas of Mon Sub-division are in physical occupation of the area since time immemorial.

¹⁹No. 822 Rev. R. 5648 dated Shillong 9th December, from the Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam to the Offg. Commissioner of Assam Valley District.

²⁰No. 432 Rev. R. From: Offg. Secy. to the Chief Commissioner Assam to: Offg. Secy. to Commr. of Assam.

²¹Oote of A.E. Wood, ICS, D.C., Kohima dated 13th May 1898.

(ii) From Tawkok (Tijit) to Dikhu river, the boundary is demarcated at most places on the ground by Ladoigarh and clearly supported by the southern revenue boundary pillars of Sibsagar District.

(Area: 31.31 sq. miles)

(iii) From Dikhu to Jhanjee (Melak) the boundary between Assam and the then Naga Hills is demarcated on the ground by Ladoigarh, and supported by the pillars of Southern Revenue boundary of Sibsagar District.

(Area: 99.81 sq. miles)

Sector B

(i) From Jhanjee to Desoi (Tsurang) the boundary is demarcated on the ground, partly by Ladoigarh from Jhanjee to Gabruparbat and thence from Gabruparbat to Desoi River by Naga-bund, NAGA-BAT/NAGA PATH supported by the southern Revenue Survey Boundary pillars of Sibsagar District.

(Area: 51.20 sq. miles)

(ii) From Desoi crossing Kakodanga, Mukhuring and Geladari upto a point on the Doyang is demarcated on the ground by Nagabund and following the down stream of Doyang River to the confluence of the Doyang and Dhansiri Rivers. This line is already supported by the Southern Revenue Boundary pillars of Sibsagar District.

(Area: 535.68 sq. miles)

Sector C

Under this sector the maximum Naga area was transferred out of Naga territory including the best forests. It covers the present Eastern Block of Mikir Hills District and part of North Cachar Hills District, starting from the confluence of the Dhansiri and Doyang and following the down stream of Dhansiri to the confluence of Dhansiri and Thorajan and from this point, following the old Naga Hills boundary line, as notified by the Naga Hills boundary Notification of 1875

until it reaches a village called Leike on the present Assam-Nagaland boundary.

Even to this day the area is sparsely populated, covered by thick forest. During the last 7/8 years the Government of Assam has, however, deforested a big area of the Nambor/Doyang Reserve Forests and brought a considerable number of Kacharis, Mikir and others from other parts of the State and gave settlement in this area. In recent years a large number of Nepalis/Bangladesh Nationals have also been given settlement.

The new settlers in this area, including the Mikirs who migrated to this region from other parts of the State admitted that the entire area belonged to the Rengma Nagas. All the Tribal people now settling in the region namely the Rengmas, Mikirs also Garo and others, are willing to join Nagaland and they have sent a representation to the Adviser (Shri Sundaram) and the Government of India to this effect.

(Area: 2825.76 sq. miles)

Sector D

The present North Cachar Hills District is mainly inhabited by the Zemi Nagas and it forms a continuous part of the present Nagaland State. Prior to 1866, the then Naga territories were administered from Asaloo, the Headquarters of a Sub-division of Nowgong district, until the Naga Hills District was formed in the year 1866, with Samaguting as the new District headquarters of Naga Hills.

In the year 1969 when the tribals of North Cachar Hills District were given option either to remain with Assam or with Meghalaya, vide the Assam Reorganisation (Meghalaya) Act of 1969, Part-II, Section-III (2), the Zemi Nagas did not commit either to join with Meghalaya or to remain with Assam, but they had affirmed that they will remain with their blood relations in Nagaland.

(Area: 1430.40 sq. miles)

The total area transferred out of Nagaland now claimed by Nagas.

Area under Sector A	131.12 sq. miles.
Area under Sector B	586.88 sq. miles.
Area under Sector C	2,825.76 sq. miles.
Area under Sector D	1,430.40 sq. miles.
Total area claimed	4,974.16 sq. miles.

TEA GARDENS

The prospects of tea cultivation during the British rule in India led to the indiscriminate illegal encroachment of Naga territory by the foreign power created feeling of acute insecurity. Innumerable instances of violent protest made by the original land-holders all along the tea gardens to resist illegal occupation and even the super power of the Colonial Government had to face a lot of problems created by the Nagas, within their territory. The slicing out of Naga territory, bit by bit, in the interest of tea cultivation is supported by documents:

"As early as 1860, the Assam Company took up land for tea cultivation, in the Naga Hills, 20 years or more before any other Company was started. Due to occurrence of many clashes between the tea gardeners and the Nagas, the imperial power had to take preventive measures to ease tension along the border by prohibiting any fresh grant south of Ladoigarh which was recognised as the boundary between Naga territory and Assam. The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal prohibited such fresh grants vide letter No. 2733 dated Fort William, the 13th June, 1871."²²

"The Southern revenue boundary of Sibsagar coincides with Ladoigarh from Jaipur to Gabruparbat and from Gabruparbat a line called the Naga-bund coincides with the southern revenue boundary of Sibsagar which also coincides with the original Innerline as notified in 1876 upto a point on Doyang. Reference to the word "Nagabund" is found in Alexander Machenzie's Memorandum on the North East

²²Sir Ed. Gaits. *History of Assam*.

Frontier of Bengal. Therefore, the Ladoigarh, the Naga Bund, the southern Revenue Boundary of Sibsagar and the Innerline of 1876 are identical to prove that one and the same line which demarcates the boundary between the Naga territory and Assam.

AGITATION PUBLIC PROTEST

1. The first negotiation by the Naga people with the representatives of the then British Indian Government was with Sir Akbar Hydari, the then Governor of Assam in Kohima on 27 to 29 June, 1947. As a result of prolonged discussions, an Agreement known as the 'Nine-Point Agreement' was drawn up. It stipulated a modification of the then administrative division by restoring all the forests transferred out of Naga Hills and bring all the Naga inhabited areas under one unified administrative unit. Demand for the restoration of transferred areas and merger of continuous Naga areas formed part of the 'Nine-Point Agreement'. It showed that Nagas had never compromised with the autocratic actions of the Britishers on the transfer and occupation of their lands by Assam.

To implement the solemn agreement, in letter and spirit, the Nagas felt that it was the bounden duty of the Government of India to take expeditious step to restore the Naga areas transferred to the plains districts of Assam and other Naga inhabited areas. The Nagas felt completely betrayed when they found that the above solemn agreement made was not carried out promptly.

2. Being frustrated on the outcome of the Agreement, from thence forward serious agitation was launched throughout the Naga territory. The first two General Elections of the country were boycotted by the Nagas; the District Council which was set up under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution was also rejected by the Nagas and the people organised themselves for armed confrontation. Practically all the able-bodied male population of the time went

underground. Actual armed confrontation took place when some of the top leaders of the moderate group including Shri T. Sakhrie were murdered by the extremist group in January, 1956. In the midst of serious fighting, Naga People's Convention was held in Kohima in August 1957 where practically all the known leaders from all the tribes were represented by their thousands. The Convention in their resolution put their strong representation for the return of the Naga territories transferred out of the Naga Hills to Assam.

SIXTEEN-POINT MEMORANDUM

Pursuant to the resolution passed by the Naga People's Convention in August, 1957 in Kohima a 16-Point Memorandum was presented to the Prime Minister of India in Delhi in 1960 by a delegation of the N.P.C.

In the course of discussion, the question of creating a separate State for Naga areas emerged and under Point-12 of the Memorandum, the Nagas demanded the return to Nagaland of all the Reserved Forests transferred from the Naga Hills to Assam during the British Regime. Under Point-13 the Nagas put their demand for the consolidation of the contiguous Naga inhabited areas to form a part of the new State.

The representatives of the Government of India pointed out to the Naga delegation on behalf of the Government of India that the boundary of the new State have to be stated in the First Schedule of the Constitution, if it was to come into being as a State. Under Regulation-6 of 1957 and Nagaland Act-27 of 1962, the 3 Districts of Kohima, Mokokchung and Tuensang were notified in the Schedule which will form part of the State of Nagaland without defining precise boundary. Therefore, the delegation was advised to take up this issue under the provision of Articles 3 and 4 of the Constitution of India after accepting the State. After discussion the Government of India had agreed to place on record the following

agreements and the Nagas had agreed to accept "Statehood" under these conditions.

The Agreement placed on record was as follows:

Point 12 "The Naga delegation discussed the question of the inclusion of the Forests and of contiguous areas inhabited by the Nagas. They were referred to the provisions in Articles 3 and 4 of the Constitution prescribing the procedure for the transfer of areas from one State to another."

Point-13 "The Naga leaders expressed the view that other Nagas inhabiting contiguous areas should be enabled to join the new State. It was pointed out to them on behalf of the Government of India that Articles 3 and 4 of the Constitution provided for increasing the area of any State, but that it was not possible for the Government of India to make any commitment in this regard at this stage."

The above points 12 and 13 were agreed upon, appreciating the position that it would be essential to restore to the Nagas the areas transferred to the plains districts of Assam by the Britishers for their administrative convenience and the neighbouring Naga inhabited areas to join the proposed State of Nagaland. The Naga delegation was prevailed upon to accept the State on the consideration that only after Nagaland became a State, they could take recourse to the provisions of Articles 3 and 4 of the Constitution for the restoration of the areas transferred out of Naga territory and allow the Naga inhabited areas to form the new State. It may be mentioned here that after coming into force of the Constitution of India, the boundaries between different States were in fact altered by increasing and/or decreasing the areas of respective States by different enactments made by the Parliament from time to time to remove their grievances. There is no reason why in the case of Nagaland, it cannot be so done under the provisions of Articles 3 and 4 of the Constitution in accordance with Points 12 and 13 of the 16-Point Agreement.

It was on the basis of the final agreement arrived at in

July, 1960, late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Prime Minister, on 1st August 1960, announced in the Parliament, the Government of India's decision to establish "Nagaland" a State of India comprising the territory of the then existing Naga Hills Tuensang Area. The Government of India could not make definite arrangement at that stage, before Nagaland became a State, on the questions of restoration of transferred areas and merger of contiguous areas inhabited by Nagas but the issue was kept open for future settlement under the provisions of the Constitution.

After accepting State-hood, Naga people had hoped that the Government of India, according to their assurance given to the delegation, would take immediate action to re-adjust the boundaries between the two States of Assam and Nagaland by returning all the reserved forests and other areas transferred out of the then Naga Hills to Assam. For 15 long years, Naga people have been waiting without any solution to the problem in sight. The people have become restive and emotionally charged with doubt that the fate of the 16-Point Agreement also would meet the same fate as that of the 9-Point Agreement of 1947.

The armed confrontation continued, however, until "Ceasefire" was agreed to in September, 1964 on the intervention of the Peace Mission composed of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, Shri B.P. Chaliha and Rev. Michael Scott. However, sporadic serious incidents continued, with thousands of lives lost until the Shillong Agreement was signed on 11 November, 1975, through the efforts of the Liaison Committee of the Nagaland Peace Council, constituted by the Baptist Churches of Nagaland for the sole purpose of bringing about peace and tranquillity in the State. Today peace prevails in the State.

Over the years since independence, there have been continuous problems in the border areas. Innumerable instance of harassment of Naga villagers by the people of Assam under the direct protection of the Assam Police continued. For instance a large number of Naga households

were destroyed in 1965 so also in 1968 and 1970. The Assam Government posted Assam Police throughout the borders from Tijing right through to the North Cachar Hills but the maximum harassment was faced by the people in Tijing, Naginimora, Aimguri and Merapani areas covering Abhoipur, Geleki, Tiru Hills, Desoi Valley, Kakodanga, Doyang, Rengma and part of south Nambor Reserved Forest areas. After the transfer of Naga territory to Assam from 1898 to 1903 the Assam Government imported encroachers by the thousands and settled them in Reserved Forests and destroyed the valuable forests which belonged to the Nagas. This action of the Assam Government had given the greatest provocation to the Naga people, for the Nagas consider these forests which were illegally transferred by the colonial British Government without the knowledge of the people, belong to them. The main reasons for insurgency in Nagaland stemmed from the non-implementation of the 'Nine Point Agreement' of 1947 and refusal of the Assam Government to transfer back to Nagaland or protect the forests which the Nagas consider rightly their own. Destruction of valuable forests and deforesting some of the Reserved Forests apart, much inhuman treatment meted out to the Nagas by the encroachers under the protection of Assam Police, aggravated the situation.

In order to stop such inhuman treatment by the Assam Police, in collaboration with the encroachers from Assam side, the then two Chief Ministers of Assam and Nagaland Shri B.P. Chaliha and Shri P. Shilu Ao entered into an Agreement in August, 1965 to bring about peace and tranquillity in the border areas, but Assam Government did not observe the terms of agreement and the problem continued unabated.

Recognising the fact that there was serious border problem between Assam and Nagaland, the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India appointed an Adviser to the Home Ministry, Mr K.V.K. Sundaram in 1971 to look

into and ascertain the facts of the case. Considering the seriousness of the problem, the Adviser prevailed upon the two States to make 4 Interim Agreements, for the maintenance of peace in the Border areas in 1972. Nagaland Government strictly observed the terms of the Agreement but the Assam Government did not, thereby creating more provocation to the Naga people. Indiscriminate arrest of Nagas on flimsy grounds, destruction of Naga cultivation, forcible harvest of Naga khetis and looting and removal of properties of the Nagas continued.

Realising that this state of affairs cannot be continued, the Chief Minister of Nagaland took the initiative in June 1978 to request the Chief Minister of Assam for a discussion. About six months after, the Chief Minister of Assam agreed for a meeting in Kohima on 2nd January, 1979 when both the Chief Ministers agreed to extend the provisions of the Interim Agreements of 1972, both in letter and spirit, throughout the entire border areas of the two States and to take up the border issue between the two States for a final settlement by bilateral discussions between the two Governments.

Systematic continued harassment, pre-planned and executed by Assam, culminated in the unfortunate incident on the 5th January, 1979 with loss of life and properties. The Chief Minister, the Government and the people of Nagaland condemned the incident. The Chief Minister, Nagaland also proposed that in order to bring peace and tranquillity and to restore normalcy in the area quickly, the two Governments should take up joint action to which the Assam Government agreed initially but a few days later they refused to have anything to do with the Nagaland Police including joint patrolling. Instead, Assam Government opened many Armed Police Posts all along the border areas in flagrant violation of the conditions of the Interim Agreements of 1972 and that of the two Chief Ministers in Kohima on 2nd January 1979. In spite of that, the Government and the people of Nagaland continued to strictly observe the terms

of the agreements and took the initiative to request the Chief Minister of Assam for another meeting to bring about normalcy in the border areas. A subsequent meeting held on 28th January 1979 in Shillong in the presence of the common Governor of the two States in which the two Chief Ministers had agreed that the terms and conditions of the Interim Agreements of 1972 would be strictly honoured and the spirit of these Agreements would be extended throughout the entire Nagaland-Assam border from Tijit to North Cachar Hills. The two Chief Ministers had further agreed that all the land originally occupied by the Nagas would be restored to them. Over two months have passed by, but the Assam Government continue to violate even the last agreement entered into on the 28th January 1979 between the two Chief Ministers. They have opened many more new Armed Police Posts throughout the border areas.

Nagas believe in, and honour all agreements. They have strictly observed the terms of the agreements entered into between the two States while taking full advantage of the inaction by the Nagas, Assam Government have imported thousands of encroachers—many of them not even citizens of India—and instigating them to continue to harass the Naga people under Police protection. This is the state of affairs prevailing in the border areas today and if Assam continues to encourage the insidious calculated provocation the consequences will rest entirely on her. The Government of Nagaland, therefore, would urge that some positive steps are taken to implement the agreements so far reached.

Enclosed is a list of Reserved Forests and Tea Gardens, falling within Naga territory, south of Ladoigarh. Nagabund and the southern revenue boundary of Sibsagar transferred to and now in possession of Assam in Annexure B and C.

Notification: By Government of India, Foreign Department.

In supersession of the Notification by His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal dated the 16th December 1867 the Governor General in Council is pleased to declare the boundaries of the "Naga Hills District" to be as follow:

BOUNDARIES OF THE NAGA HILLS AGENCY

North. From the sources of the Dikhore River in the Rengma Naga Hills a line along the summit of the hills, from which the Longungton, Barpung, and Tarapung streams take their rise, to the sources of the Dahorijan, thence down the Dahorijan until it meets the Kolliani River, up the latter river to its junction with a small stream that flows into it from the west, about half a mile below the Aitonia village of Kolliani, from whence in a straight line due east for about two miles until it cuts the Doigurang river, then up the latter river until it meets the path leading from Murphulani to the Nambor, from whence along that path for about a quarter of a mile until it meets the Tarajan, thence along the latter stream to its junction with the Dhansiri river, and from thence up this latter river to its junction with the Doyang river, and finally up along the Doyang river to its junction with the Horipani.

South. From the sources of the Langting river below the peak about three miles almost due east of Semkhor a line along the summit of the hills from which the Jinam, Jhiri Makho rivers take their rise, until it reaches the hill above the Naga village of Ungaluah or Galuah, from whence almost due east down a spur from that mountain until it cuts the Chuline river, from thence down the latter river until its junction with the Barak river and up the course of the latter river until its junction with the Zupoo river from whence up the latter stream to its source in the Burrail range of mountains below the Tenepod Peak, from whence a line of about two and a half miles along the summit of that range to

the Khunho Peak and from thence down the main feeder of the Zullo river to a spot about a quarter of a mile below where it is joined by the stream which has its source below the Tenepu Peak (and flows between villages of Viswema and Khuzama) and from spot up the small streamlet below the Napu Hill, on to the crest of the ridge dividing the Zullo from the Sijjo, and between this villages of Kcdima and Phusami, then a line along the summit of this ridge from boundary pillar to boundary. Pillar for a distance of about a quarter of a mile where it turns off to the east, down the centre of a spur running between the two small feeders of a small stream named the Merori, thence down the latter stream to its junction with the Sijjol River, then up the latter river for about a mile until it meets a small stream named the Sekharri (flowing into it from the east) which stream then forms the boundary up to its source at Tellizo Peak.

West. A line from the source of the Langting River in the Burrial mountains below the peak about three miles east of Semkhor, down the course of that river to its junction with the Doyang river and from thence down the latter river until it meets the Lamsakhong Nuddi, thence up the latter stream to its point of exit out of the hills, from whence along the foot of the Hills (in a succession of straight lines from headland to headland, that is to say, from the foot one spur to the foot of the next in a straight line, and not following all the sinousities of every little bay or valley) crossing the Longkajan and the Dikhrongkhong Nuddi at their respective points of exit from the hills and until it meets the Dimorujan, from whence down the latter stream as far as the village of Kaki Namsa from which point it turns off to the north, following the path between the latter village and the village of Sakher on the left bank of the Jamoona River, from whence up that river until it meets Samagurijan, thence up the latter stream for about two miles to its point of exit out of the Rengma Naga Hills from whence a line along the foot of the Hills (again going from headland to headland) crossing the Zikok, Digolpani, Solabor, Longsompi and

Horghati streams at their respective points of exit of the hills and until it meets the Dikhorri River which latter river then forms the boundary up to its source in the Rengma Naga Hills.

The eastern boundary is for the present left undefined.

ANNEXURE B

FORESTS

The Reserve Forests which were either transferred from the old Naga Hills or Reserve Forests which were constituted after the territories were transferred from the Naga Hills to the adjoining district of Assam may be classified into four categories:

1. Category (I)

Prior to the constitution of a separate Naga Hills District as notified in 1867 and 1875, the entire Naga territory was administered from Asaloo, but after a separate Naga Hills District was formed with Samaguting as its Headquarters, the region around Asaloo was excluded from the main Naga Hills District, but this area was constituted as a separate subdivision and placed under Cachar District. After these changes were effected, two Reserve Forests were constituted namely (1) Langting Mupa Reserve Forest, (2) Krungring Reserve Forest. These two forests even though notified as Cachar Reserve Forests, were very much within the Naga territory, but they were notified as Reserve Forests after the area was transferred from the Naga territory to Cachar.

2. Category (II)

After the old Naga Hills District was formed and the

boundary notified in the year 1867 and 1875 as a separate Naga Hills District the following Reserve Forests were constituted as 'Naga Hills Forests':

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Nambor Reserve Forest | No. 5 dt. 17.10.1878 |
| 2. Addition to Nambor Reserve Forest | No. 5 dt. 17.10.1878 |
| 3. Upper Daigurung Reserve Forest | No. 4 dt. 18.1.1883 |
| 4. Lower Daigurung Reserve Forest | No. 4 dt. 18.1.1883 |
| 5. Kaliani Reserve Forest | No. 47 dt. 5.8.1887 |
| 6. Mikir Hills Reserve Forest | No. 5 dt. 17.10.1887 |
| 7. Diphu Reserve Forest | No. 25 dt. 13.4.1887 |
| 8. Rengma Reserve Forest | No. 25 dt. 13.4.1887 |

These eight Reserve Forests were perhaps presumed to have been transferred along with the huge territory from the old Naga Hills transferred to the adjoining districts of Assam in the year 1901 and 1903, although there was no separate notification issued transferring these Reserve Forests from Naga Hills. *The Chief Conservator of Forests of Assam ADMITTED THAT these forests have never been officially transferred from Naga Hills to any District of Assam* vide the Conservator of Forests report to the Government of Assam.

3. Category (III)

After the transfer of a huge territory from the then Naga Hills Districts to the adjoining Districts of Assam, the following Reserve Forests were constituted from the areas actually transferred out from Naga Hills. Since the constitution of these forests were effected after the Naga territory was transferred to the adjoining districts of Cachar, Nowgong and Sibsagar, naturally the actual owner of the land, meaning the Nagas could not raise any voice in protest

against such Reserves nor could they prefer any claim over their own land. These valuable forests belong to the Nagas, preserved for centuries together and naturally there were no inhabitants in these vast forests, and so the then British Colonial Government constituted these forests as Government Reserve Forests. It is pointed out that these forests were within the territories which was original Naga Hills, but the areas were transferred out of Nagaland, to the adjoining districts of Assam without any knowledge of the Naga people in 1901 and 1903. The following are the Reserve Forests constituted in this area:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Daldali Reserve Forest | Nowgong R.F. No. 2502 dt. 22.10.1923 |
| 2. Dhansiri Reserve Forest | Nowgong R.F. No. 3454 dt. 17.8.1915 |
| 3. Langting Mupa Reserve Forest | Cachar R.F. No. 3454 dt. 17.8.1915 |
| 4. Lumding Reserve Forest | Nowgong R.F. No. 3454 dt. 17.8.1915 |
| 5. Desema Reserve Forest | Nowgong R.F. No. 3454 dt. 17.8.1915 |
| 6. Kaki Reserve Forest | Nowgong R.F. No. 3454 dt. 17.8.1915 |
| 7. Geleki Reserve Forest | Sibsagar R.F. No. 847 R dt. 22.2.1918 |
| 8. Tiru Reserve Forest | Sibsagar R.F. No. 847 R dt. 22.2.1918 |
| 9. Kakodanga Reserve Forest | Sibsagar R.F. No. 367 dt. 30.6.1910 |

These Reserve Forests though notified as Assam Reserve Forests since they were in the area actually transferred from the old Naga Hills District, the Nagas claim these forests as their own.

4. Category (IV)

In this category, the following Reserve Forests are dealt with separately for certain special reasons:-

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| 1. Desoi Valley Reserve Forest | Naga Hills R.F. No. 235 TR, dt. 19.2.1918 |
| 2. Desoi Reserve Forest | Sibsagar R.F. No. 45, dt. 21.11.1883 |
| 3. Doyang Reserve Forests | Sibsagar R.F. No. 28, dt. 31.7.1888 |

(i) Desoi Valley Reserve Forest was notified as Naga Hills Reserve Forest in the year 1902, vide notification No. 2349 R dated 19.6.1902. It will be interesting to note that even in the Assam Forest Rule itself vide the rule No. 85 page 19 of Assam Forest Manual specifically enjoined upon the Forest Officer of Assam that no operation in this forest should be done without order from the Sub-Divisional Officer, Mokokchung. However, for reasons best known to the Imperial Government, the northern boundary of Naga Hills District was revised in the year 1918 in spite of vehement protest even from the British Deputy Commissioner of the then Naga Hills District, this Reserve Forest was transferred in 1924 to Sibsaagar District.

(ii) Desoi Reserve Forest was first notified in the year 1883 as Sibsaagar Forest without specifying the boundary of the Reserve, obviously the boundary could not be specified at that time because the area definitely falls within the Naga territory, but because of the availability of the most valuable species of forest in this area, they had to preserve the forest. Having notified the area as Reserve Forest in 1883, it took them nearly 10 years to give the final boundary of this Reserve Forest after shifting the Inner Line in 1882 from the original Inner Line of 1876. The final notification with clear boundary being specified in 1892. Then again, in spite of very strong protest from the local people and the District

British Officers themselves, the autocratic Government at the State level constituted this forest and transferred the entire area to Sibsagar District.

(iii) *Doyang*. As in the case of Desoi Reserve Forest, Doyang Reserve Forest was also notified covering a huge area within Naga territory beyond the then Inner Line of Sibsagar District, as Sibsagar Forest in 1888. The Inner Line of 1876 which also coincided with the Revenue Boundary of Sibsagar District, covered only a very small portion of this Reserve Forest. It is pointed out here that when this area was transferred from Naga territory to Sibsagar District, the entire Doyang Reserve Forest was shown as transferred from Naga Hills District to Sibsagar in 1903, obviously to rectify an illegal action carried out earlier.

ANNEXURE C

TEA GARDENS

1. Jamguri T.E.
2. Amguri T.E.
3. Nagura T.E.
4. Wokha T.E. (a portion)
5. Gildhari T.E.
6. Mukhrung T.E.
7. Borhaolla T.E.
8. Gurjam T.E.
9. Kalipani T.E.
10. Rajabari T.E.
11. Bosabari T.E.
12. Modhupur T.E.
13. Suraipani T.E. (a portion)
14. Bandarsulia T.E. (a portion)
15. Kherimea T.E.
16. Bahun T.E.
17. New Hunuwal (a portion)
18. Desoi T.E. (a portion)

Appendices

19. Naga Junka T.E.
20. Naginijan T.E.
21. Gabruparbat T.E. (a portion)
22. Laojan T.E.
23. Hulwadaw T.E. GRANT No. 157
24. Rajabari T.E. (Seling)
25. Hulwating T.E. GRANT No. 62
26. Amguri T.E. GRANT No. 12
27. Bonderjan T.E. GRANT No. 96
28. Ahoo T.E. GRANT No. 18
29. Tiphook T.E. GRANT No. 18
30. Namti T.E.
31. Bursala T.E. GRANT No. 21
32. Deopani T.E.
33. Geleki T.E. GRAND No. 21
34. Athkhel T.E.
35. Lakhmi-Jan T.E.
36. Nomemee T.E. GRANT No. 22
37. Ogarijan T.E.
38. Suntook T.E.
39. Cherideo T.E. (a portion)
40. Sufrai T.E.
41. Singloo T.E.

Besides the tea gardens given above under Sectors A & B there are also a number of the gardens which fall under Sectors C & D.

Appendix 4

The ostensible excuse for such violent and outrageous activities in the outlying areas of Assam is said to be a so called boundary dispute involving large tracts of settled lands in the Karbi Anglong, North Cachar Hills and the Sibsagar districts as also a number of reserved forests well within the fully demarcated limits of Assam. It has reportedly been argued that the said areas had originally been part and parcel of the Naga Hills district, which was constituted in 1866. It is being contended that an area of around 5000 sq. miles was transferred from that district to the neighbouring plains districts when the boundary between them was finally and fully prescribed through the 1925 Notification. It is being alleged that the alien rulers did it in order to deny the people of the then Naga Hills district of their 'legitimate' right to this vast and valuable plains area. The so called boundary issue centring round the 1925 Notification can thus be traced to the claim for 'restoration' of the said areas to the state of Nagaland, which was created in 1963 on the basis of the clearly defined boundaries of the then Naga Hills district of Assam as prescribed under the said Notification of 1925.

We have to move further down the corridors of history to understand more fully the worth of these claims and contentions. As is well-known, the Kachari Kings ruled over a very large portion of Assam with their capital at Dimapur. While the area around Dimapur formed the nucleus of their reign from the beginning, the eastern extent of their kingdom extended right into the present Naga Hills and included several areas across the Dhansiri river. When they finally retreated further south in the wake of the Ahom

onslaughts, the latter's sway came to cover a still larger portion of territory on the eastern side and the whole of Kamrup, Darrang, Lakhimpur, Sibsagar, a portion of Jaintia Hills, and the whole of Mikir Hills. Effective control of the Ahom Kings on the southeastern side extended right into the upper reaches of the present Naga Hills.

The Ahom Kings had established a practice of allowing the Nagas to come to the plains only through controlled routes, called Duars (doors-gates). Notwithstanding their assertion of sovereignty over the tribes populating the adjacent hills, the Ahom Kings as a matter of political expediency left their internal administration to their chieftains. Taxes were however realised in the form of slaves, elephant tusks, woven clothing etc. and the Ahom Kings also made grants of lands to tribal Chiefs in the fringes of Ahom territory as was done in the case of Assamese nobles.

Following the treaty of Yandaboo in 1826, the political control of the entire area comprising the Ahom Kingdom slipped into the hands of the British. Their extension of full administration to all the areas took some time and the British started by consolidating their position in the densely populated portions of the fertile plains.

Although British political control was considered to extend upto Burma in the east, the nature and system of administrative control varied from time to time between direct administration and least interference. In the areas occupied by tribes like Abors, Mishmis and Nagas etc., direct administration was not seriously considered till the later half of the 19th century.

No specific area known as Naga territory can be traced till late 19th century. The hill areas beyond the effective limits of the Ahom Kingdom were occupied by different tribes often hostile to each other. They lived on the mountain tops and occasionally came down to the plains mainly for trade or raids.

The westernmost Naga tribes were the Angamis and the

Kacha Nagas who occupied the hills to the south of the valley between Dayong and other neighbouring places were mostly conducted from these hills. The British had to undertake series of expeditions to contain them since 1839. They had to cross the Dhansiri on its southern end for these expeditions and for enforcing greater administrative control.

A policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of the tribes living beyond the limits of effective British administration was laid down in 1851 following a successful expedition in the previous year. Full British administration had by then extended to five plains districts of Kamrup, Darrang, Nowgong, Sibsagar and Lakhimpur together with Sadiya and Balipara Frontier tracts. The southern portion of Nowgong district was composed of the North Cachar Hills which earlier formed part of the Kachari kingdom.

Raids became more frequent from 1853 and continued till 1865, when the policy of non-interference was reviewed and a decision was taken to reassert British authority by carving out a regular district with the areas inhabited particularly by the Angamis and the Kacha Nagas. In order to make the proposed district a viable administrative unit and to facilitate supplies and transport, some areas of Nowgong district lying to the east of Dhansiri river were added to it. A year later, a portion of the Rengma area and another of the North Cachar Hills, both part and parcel of the Nowgong district since long before, were also added to the new district specifically to ensure transport and supplies for the Political Officer of the Naga Hills district. This new district thus came to have a population of Angamis and Kacha Nagas in the hill areas and of non-Nagas in the major portion temporarily added to it from Nowgong district. In 1875, some more areas from the districts of Cachar and Nowgong were added to the new district purely for reasons of administrative convenience.

In 1881, the Political Officer of Naga Hills recommended inclusion of four Lotha villages on the east, which happened to be the only Lotha areas outside the new district. The

restoration of the Mikir Hills to Nowgong was also mooted at the same time. Seven years later, while processing the proposal, it was further proposed to restore a Kachari inhabited tract lying west of Lumding river to the North Cachar Subdivision, which had been formed in 1880. While inclusion of the Lotha villages and restoration of the Kachari tract were approved, restoration of the Mikir Hills was not immediately agreed to since among other things, the Rengmas and the Mikirs provided valuable source of carriage into the hills.

The question of clearly defining the northern boundary of the Naga Hills district with the then Sibsagar district was also taken up at the same time.

The Inner Line Regulation prohibiting non-natives from acquiring any interest in land or land product beyond a specified limit had been passed in 1873. A year later, the question of laying down the Sibsagar district boundary and erecting boundary pillars at appropriate spots as nearly along the foothills as possible leaving the hill slopes to the Nagas was taken up. In course of actual survey, it was however found that the areas beyond the revenue survey boundary earlier laid down was dense and mostly uninhabited jungles. The revenue survey had taken into consideration all cultivable lands as also lands leased out by the Government. It was then agreed that the already existing revenue survey boundary should be adopted for the immediate purpose of prescribing the Inner Line. The question of fixing the boundary along the foot of the hills was hence not immediately pursued. Apparently, this was done as a measure of practical administration without having anything to do with the final determination of the district boundary as such.

The Nambor Reserve Forest was constituted for the first time in 1872. Although notified at the first instance as being within the Naga Hills district, it was actually in an area earlier transferred from Nowgong in 1866 purely for administrative convenience. The reserve forests of

Abhoypur and Disoi were formed in 1881 and 1883 respectively in the Sibsagar district. The Diphu and Rengma reserves, constituted in 1881 and 1883, were also located in areas transferred from Nowgong in 1867. The Dayong reserve was created in 1888 in the Sibsagar district. Its southern boundary was the foot of the Naga Hills from the exit of the Dayong river. It was not co-terminus with the

In 1882, the Inner Line between the Desoi and the Jhanji rivers was carried further south of the revenue survey boundary. Here again the Inner Line was prescribed as the foot of the hills.

Constitution of the Dayong reserve and modification of the Inner Line from time to time clearly shows that the revenue survey boundary was never considered as the administrative or political boundary of the Sibsagar district.

When a new sub-division of Mokokchung was added to the Naga Hills district in 1890, the Inner Line of Sibsagar district was made to coincide with the northern boundary of the new sub-division thus delinking the Inner Line from the Revenue Survey boundary.

During the period when the jurisdiction of the Naga Hills district was being extended in the eastern directions to include more Naga occupied areas, restoration of the Mikir and Rengma Hills was taken up and was strongly recommended by the Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills in 1891. This area, originally added to the Naga Hills district from Nowgong had at that time the following population:

Assamese	4,875
Rengmas	9,080
Kacharis	2,900
Mikirs	15,948

The restoration was however effected only in 1898, restoring the status quo ante that existed prior to creation of the Naga Hills district.

Two important changes were effected after 1901. The first was in 1913 when a portion of the Dimapur Mauza originally belonging to the Kachari Kingdom and fully administered till then as a part of Nowgong, was transferred to the Naga Hills district to provide the British administration there with the Dimapur rail head. The artificial enclave was created and transferred to the Naga Hills district by the imperial rulers to meet their own requirements in utter disregard of strong public resentment. The second was in 1923 when the Diger Mauza with a predominantly non-Naga population of Hill Kacharis was transferred to the Cachar district as it was considered that continuation of the area in Naga Hills was an administrative absurdity.

With the completion of this long process of boundary adjustments to facilitate complete British control over the high hills, a consolidated Notification was issued in 1925 fully describing the boundary between the Naga Hills district and the neighbouring districts to remove any possible scope for confusion. This final description of the boundary has held sway all this time.

The claim that large chunks of valuable forests and cultivable lands in the occupation of any Naga population had been transferred to the plains districts of Assam does not seem to be borne out by the facts of history. On the contrary, during the long six decades when the process of creating the Naga Hills district was alive, large settled, occupied and fully administered areas of Assam had to go through the painful process of being shuttled back and forth merely for the political convenience of the imperial rulers. The extent of sufferings of the innocent people of those settled areas can be easily guessed, as apart from other considerations they had to bear the brunt of an autocratic political administration more suited only to unadministered areas. What was finally restored to Assam through the 1925 Notification was exactly what was hers from time immemorial.

Nagaland finally attained Statehood on 1.12.63 under the

State of Nagaland Act, 1962. Earlier, under section 2 of the Naga Hills Tuensang Area Act, 1957, a new administrative unit had been formed with the name of Naga Hills-Tuensang Area. The boundary in both the Acts was based on the Notification of 1925.

Unfortunately, the reserve forest areas of Assam lying close to the Assam-Nagaland boundary have been the scene of great tension and violence long before the state of Nagaland was created. The pressure on these areas however was not very deep when the entire Naga Hills area was in the throes of serious belligerency. Naturally, following the creation of Nagaland as a separate state, the pressures started building up again.